WORKERS
Vanguard

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Mobilize All Sask. Behind Public Ownership of CPR

By The Editors

The intention of the CPR and the CNR to scrap 1,400 miles of branch lines in Saskatchewan has alarmed the people of Saskatchewan — as well it should!

The abandonment of 27 branch lines will directly affect 67,000 people: some 14,850 farm families and 22,612 residents of hamlets, villages or towns; over 1,400 small businesses; and 426 grain elevators handling an average of 49,566,124 bushels of grain annually.

How many it will indirectly affect and just how it will affect them, can scarcely be estimated. Thousands of railway employees and their families will lose their means of livelihood. New roads that will have to be built and the extensive improvements that will have to be made of present roads will impose a tremendous new tax burden on the entire population of Saskatchewan.

Forty-four railway retention committees have been formed to fight

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THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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For Public Ownership of CPR

(Continued From Page One)

the abandonment of the branch lines. With the aid of the Saskatchewan NDP government some 200 delegates met last month in Regina to listen to CPR and CNR representatives make their case.

Out of this conference came the demand for the appointment of an independent Board of Inquiry to study the impact of the railways' proposals in terms of increase cost to farmers hauling grain; the cost of reorganizing the grid road and provincial highways systems; losses to municipalities due to increased taxation; capital losses to small business; depreciation of land values and the impact on schools, hospitals and other social services.

Significantly the delegates turned to the NDP government for help. The conference asked the provincial government "to take the initiative in implementing an information program to inform all Saskatchewan people of the effect of rail line abandonment."

Speaking on behalf of the government the minister of industry and information, the Hon. Russ Brown, answered the railways' claim that the abandonment would improve their position by 5.3 million dollars annually, with the statement:-

"Any such claim by the railroads must be balanced against the effect such proposed branch abandonment would have on the social and economic well-being of the Saskatchewan people. The interests of the people must be our prime concern," he emphasized.

Good words! Excellent words. But how to implement this position? That is now the problem confronting the NDP government — both a problem and an opportunity!

So far the Saskatchewan NDP and the government have failed to provide any substantial answer. Through Mr. Brown it has agreed to give immediate attention to a public information program. It has announced that it is giving consideration to the appointment of a representative delegation from some of the local committees to present their views to the federal government and to give assistance to obtaining legal council.

But it isn't as if we in the NDP do not have an answer — a real answer, a practical answer — one that has the greatest possibilities of uniting the working people of the province and the entire country, mobilizing and preparing them for the essential tasks ahead!

The answer is — the taking over of the CPR under public ownership and its fusion with the already nationally-owned CNR. This would be a substantial step indeed in the direction of establishing industrial democracy in this country.

The idea of public ownership used to be common currency in the old CCF. The NDP has taken the equivocal position of nationalization if necessary but not necessarily nationalization. But isn't it now necessary to nationalize the CPR? Surely that is the way to see that the interests of the people have primacy!

There are already important forces in this country that support this idea. The National Farmers Union, representing farmers in four Western provinces and Ontario, urged the nationalization of the CPR and its operation by the CNR in its annual submission to the federal provincial agriculture conference held in Ottawa last month.

The NDP should immediately undertake a vast campaign behind the demand that the CNR be nationalized and its assets fused with the CNR. It should acquaint the people of Saskatchewan and Canada with all the facts; with the truth on how the railway barons looted the public treasury, how they swindled us out of the choice lands and how they took over our vast mineral resources. How they have used their monopolistic position to cut out and take over all competition, how they have utilized the incredible debt structure foisted on the CNR to erect a fantastic profit position, and how they have bled the people with high rates. How they have tirelessly blocked every effort of their hundreds of thousands of employees to win wage parity with the durable goods industries, etc.

Do you want to know how to lift the NDP out of its slump? Do you want to know how to build a popular and vigorous movement? Do you want to know how to put the NDP into office so that it can legislate in the interests of the people of this country?

The answer lies in the seizing of such an issue, in the mobilization of the forces now at our disposal behind a clear and incisive demand for the public ownership of the CPR.

Workers' Vanguard #94 Feb. 1964

Keep Canadian Troops Out of Cypriot Affairs!

(By The Editors)

Only a matter of days ago the first battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment was prepared to head into Cyprus as part of a British-U.S. 10,000 man NATO force. At that time the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was being reported in the press as imperilling world peace and requiring immediate intervention on the part of Canada and others.

There is now a notable cooling off. The Van Doos are still on the alert but the government is talking about certain requirements that it would like met before committing Canadian participation.

Is the emergency less? Is the government less concerned about "peace keeping."? One thing is sure — the least concern of the Pearson government and its NATO allies is the safety and well-being of the Cypriots.

The Feb. 15 Toronto Telegram carries an article by an A. Anderson,

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No Canadian Troops to Cyprus

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former news editor of the Times of Cyprus (1957-59), entitled — Cyprus as a NATO Pawn. "NATO's prime concern if it comes in," writes Anderson, "will be to keep NATO together — inevitably by placating Turkey — and Cyprus will be only a pawn in that grand strategy."

The same day the editors of the Globe and Mail affirm this view. "It was not . . . primarily to protect the Cypriots . . . The crisis is not that the Greek-speaking majority and the Turkish-speaking minority are in a state of civil war" that Britain enlisted U.S. support for a NATO intervention. The problem, they say, is the NATO-allied Turkey — Turkish intervention. "Two members of NATO would then be at war with each other and the Mediterranean flank of the Western Alliance would be in chaos."

How did Turkey enter into the scheme of things? It was reintroduced by Britain in 1955, after it had renounced all claims 30 years before. Anthony Eden, faced with armed insurrection against British occupation, invited Turkey to a tripartite treaty. From then on, because Turkey raised all kinds of fears about the future of the Turkish minority, Britain with a great show of reluctance, was "compelled" to remain, despite the opposition of the Cypriots, to "preserve the peace."

When Britain finally had to concede independence she imposed a constitution which favored Turkish influence — which even granted the Turkish vice-president absolute veto over foreign affairs, defense and security. The constitution also assured Britain two military bases which she shares with the Pentagon.

Mr. Pearson was preparing to send in Canadian troops in order to preserve NATO's interests. What has caused him to pull back? Cypriot President Makarios has demanded that any intervening force be under UN auspices. But Mr. Pearson has always proclaimed the UN as an instrument of peace. Besides it proved a suitable instrument to preserve imperialist interests in such situations as Korea and the Congo. The new element in the situation is Makarios' insistence that the force be under the Security Council's control. This could open the door to the Soviet Union's participation in the Eastern Mediterranean!

The NATO powers, with the Pearson government in tow, are now attempting to work out a new formula to preserve intact their strategic position, their imperialist interests in the Mediterranean. But the Canadian people have no interests in that. Their concern is that there be peace, not war — that the Cypriot people determine their own affairs. No Canadian troops should go into Cyprus under any fromula worked out by imperialism. Canada should withdraw from NATO while there is still time.

Raw Deal for Socialist Youth

This month the socialist youth who were expelled from the Ontario New Democratic Party almost a year ago, face their final appeal.

But no one can seriously consider it an "appeal". In reality the expelled youth face a kangaroo court. The provincial council which they will appear before is the very author of the ruling which "legalized" the expulsions. And the "law" by which the youth were unceremoniously kicked out of the party was passed by that council a full two days after the victims had received their expulsion notices. In fact, the council and executive have shared between themselves the many roles of lawmaker, policeman, prosecutor, judge, executioner, and now — court of appeal.

The most repulsive aspect of these expulsions is the right wing leadership's blatant demonstration that it can — and will — expel members merely for holding views differing from its own, without reference to whether such members committed actions of any kind whatsoever that were detrimental in any way to the party.

To be sure, the provincial executive has tried to cover up its real motives by inventing flimsy legal excuses for taking such action. They claim the youth are members of an opponent political party which, in that retroactive law, is called the "Young Socialist Alliance". But it is clear, in view of the youth's record in the New Democratic Party and Youth, that if such a group exists — or did exist, for the expulsions occured almost a year ago — at most it could only be termed a caucus, which is not banned under the party constitution.

The expelled youth have correctly refused to answer the question of whether or not they are members of the YSA. In a pamphlet entitled "The Expulsions from the Ontario New Democratic Party", they explain the reasons why. To answer "no" would appear to be futile because, in the year since their expulsion not one of the accused has been presented with any evidence whatsoever to sustain the charge. Besides, to answer "no" is to concede the present party leadership the right to declare any opposition current an opponent political party, and thus aid in the pollution of the internal life of the party

And if they answer "yes", thereby "admitting" membership in an already outlawed "party", they lose even the meagre right to talk to the provincial council delegates. By refusing to answer the question, they most effectively expose the undemocratic nature of the question itself.

Nor does the witch-hunt end with the final expulsion of these youth. To avoid the nuisance of laying formal charges, the leadership is now simply refusing to renew the memberships of those they don't like. And the British Columbia NDP executive, having completed a similar series of expulsions, is now proceeding to proclaim its right to govern the participation of NDP members in organizations like the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

By encouraging the witch-hunt atmosphere, the NDP leadership creates an atmosphere in which those elements whose allegiance to the party can be questioned — that is, the party's extreme right wing — can seriously compromise the party and its leadership. The recent "negotiations" between some elements of the Ontario NDP and the Liberal Party leadership, is the sort of harvest we may expect to reap from repeated attacks on the left wing of the party. Hence all serious New Democrats have a direct stake in halting the purges.

Fortunately, the cause of democracy in the NDP has found worthy exponents in these youth. Barred from use of the official party organs, they recently launched Young Socialist Forum, a four-page tabloid which "unconditionally" supports the NDP. No doubt a future change in the internal relationship of forces in the party will find them again on the inside where they so rightly belong.

WV #94 Feb. 1964

NDP Ranks Hit Sask. Govt. Plans for Separate Schools

By P. Kent

Extensive opposition is developing in Saskatchewan NDP circles to the Lloyd government's projected legislation that will allocate funds collected through general taxation to the financing of separate schools. The Regina South CCF provincial constituency arranged a special meeting so that the Hon. O. Turnbull, minister of education, could explain the government's position and opposing views could be heard. A rash of letters has appeared in the Commonwealth, all in opposition.

One correspondent, W. A. MacLean of Balgonic, challenges, "The CCF has always proclaimed loud and long that their policies emanated from the grass roots. What grass roots convention approved the policy recently announced by the minister of education of inaugurating a system of separate schools? Whence," he asks, "came the demand for such a system? It must have been a twitch-grass-roots (spreads underground) convention."

But probably the most effective opposition so far has come from leading spokesmen of the Manitoba section of the NDP. It is all the more effective in that it doesn't attack the Saskatchewan NDP government but a Tory government, the Roblin government of Manitoba, for preparing legislation of the same general character.

"Linked up closely with government aid to parochial schools" is the "old hot potato of religious education in schools," says Manitoba NDP leader Donovan Swailes, "likely to be one of the burning issues in the coming session of the Manitoba legislature".

"At the present time and for the last half century government funds have not been used to pay for education in non-governmental schools in the province of Manitoba. If people do not wish to use the facilities that are provided in the public schools, if they wish to send their children to private schools, or to schools operated by religious denominations, then quite properly they must pay for that additional service."

He goes on to comment on religious education in public schools: "The NDP at the provincial level or at the federal level, has not established any policy with respect to religious instruction in public schools. In my opinion, it's time the NDP did take a definite stand, and came out openly in favor of eliminating all forms of religious instruction in the schools that are operated by the government."

The Saskatchewan government has not only shown no signs of pulling back from implementing this divisive legislation, it has been strangely silent in its explanation and defense. The only statement emanating from government circles so far has been that of Education Minister Turnbull reproduced in the Feb. 5 Commonwealth.

The essence of his apology is that under a 1907 amendment to the act that created the province, separate schools were restricted to grade 8 except in areas where separate high schools were already in operation. How many this amounted to in the year 1907 he does not say.

He does say that in 16 districts tax-supported separate schools have been limited to the 8th grade, elsewhere there was no such limitation. "The proposed ammendments would merely provide that all districts may be treated alike." But why the government should impose this costly and divisive legislation on the 16 and not remove it from the others, Mr. Turnbull does not explain. He tries to soften the blow with the scare that private schools, not subject in any way to the department of education, are on the increase.

Tax supported separate high schools will be run by elected boards and come under the jurisdiction of the department.

He further tries to soften the opposition with the statement that the suggested amendments are merely proposals. "Before becoming effective they will have to pass under the close scrutiny of the legislature and have many details ironed out." But the government, along with the Liberals and Tories, support this legislation and it is not a matter of details—but the principle itself of separation of church from state.

Mass Protests Kill Ont. Police State Bill

By Ross Dowson

The legislation that the Tory Ontario government had prepared for passage through the house granting unprecedented powers to the Police Commission has been withdrawn. That Premier Robarts had to go through this humiliating experience, casting off his attorney-general on the way, was due entirely to the massive and vigorous opposition that it provoked right across the province.

This legislation, under the guise of permitting the authorities to come to grips with organized crime, would have empowered the Ontario Police Commission to summon any person for questioning in secret, deprive him of legal advice and keep him in prison indefinitely should he refuse to answer their questions.

Immediately challenged by the Association of Civil Liberties, secretary Irving Himel declared it "could literally turn Ontario into a police state." "No individual's democratic rights would be safe, he added, "if the ammendments became law." The editors of the Tory Globe and Mail called it "Nazi-like". The treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada declared that "it carries us back to the spy enquiries during the last war." R. H. S. Ryan, professor of law at Queen's University, said that it reminded him of the Spanish inquisition.

ONTARIO PREMIER ROBARTS addressing a delegation of 60 students from the Ontario College of Art. The premier appeared before them on the house steps after three of their number demanded that he do so. In the face of their protests he took the apologetical position that his party's proposed legislation "will be changed . . . if" it violates civil rights.

Even religious leaders added their voices. The Reverend J. R. Hord, secretary of the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service, condemned them as "going to the extreme of introducing a police state." Cannon K. H .M. Creal, general secretary of the department of religious education of the Anglican Church of Canada, cried out that "the fact that such legislation could even be contemplated is so profoundly shocking that it leaves me with virtually no confidence in the present administration."

The tremendous public outcry, the scope of the response against this threat, which drove the government into headlong retreat, demonstrates the militant concern of the Canadian people for the rights that they have established through years of hard and costly struggles. During that week a tremendous victory was won. But perhaps even more important for the future is a serious consideration as to how such a law could have even been drafted, what forces are involved and what the whole struggle reveals about the real state and not the legal fiction of civil rights in this country.

The attorney-general himself was fully aware of the ominous character of the proposals as he revealed in the process of the first enquiries by newspapermen. To their amazement he said "It's drastic and it's dangerous and it's new and it's terrible legislation in an English common law country." He even agreed that the Police Commission would become a super-court under the legislation—"They've got a wide-open vista." After assurances that the make-up of the present commis-

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sion insured that its new powers would not be abused he was asked what would happen with a future commission. "You'll have to ask a future attorney-general," he snapped. Replying to expressions of amazement at the deprival of a person of counsel he replied: "The right of counsel is not necessarily part of the due process of law."

Mr. Cass, a lawyer and former magistrate, is no longer attorney-general. He is just a Tory MP. But he made it clear that while he approved of the proposals it was actually the three-man Police Commission that wanted the powers. Not only did the government appointed Police Commission want them, Major-General Sparling wouldn't talk but Magistrate Graham said they were unanimous, but other important persons in the judiciary fully approved of them—and even said so right in the face of the public outcry.

Judge B. J. S. Macdonald, who returned to judicial duties after two years chairmanship of the commission, said: "I might have drafted it a little differently but basically I agree." He said that he doesn't consider it "drastic" at all. A former chief justice Ivan Rand, surveying that hectic week in an address celebrating his retirement as dean of the University of Western Ontario, declared that "we are in danger of becoming fanatical about individual rights."

The legal officers of the attorney-general's department not only wrote them up — they fully approved of them. According to Mr. Cass, affirmed by Premier John Robarts, the amendments did not in their opinion "in any way interfere with the existing rights of the people of Ontario."

The Premier himself, a lawyer, even in the teeth of the massive popular opposition, and the sensitivity of some of his fellow Tories to this, never did take a stand of opposition to the legislation. Right up to the very end he talked in terms of "if the effect of this legislation is to jeopardize . . . if it infringes or violates

(See Page 3 — KILL)

Kill Police State Clause-

(Continued from page one)

if there is conflict." And right up to the very end, with the premier finally agreeing to the removal of the offending section 14, when a voice vote was being called, Minister of Transport I. Haskett and former cabinet minister John Root shouted nay. The vote was unanimous only when it came to a roll call.

What does all this say for the attorney general, for the premier, for the Tory party itself which Tory whip Cowling said discussed it in "full caucus"? What does it say for the legal officers of the government, for the new government-appointed police commission and for the judiciary itself? Far from being the upholders of the law, in so far as it sustains the rights of the individual, not to speak of civil rights in general —they have been revealed to be the chief danger. They have declared that they are prepared to violate not only the right of Habeas Corpus, the Magna Carta but the Canadian Bill of Rights.

This past week shows the fragile character of civil rights under capitalism, gives some insight into the nature of the state and the real character of the task confronting those who seek a better society.

This moment of triumph should cause us to examine carefully every other section of the proposals coming before the Ontario house. It should alert us to the increasing inroads and incursions against the privacy of the individual that are being made by other levels of government. Ottawa is now circulating forms that will require all persons covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act, 4½ million Canadians, to register and accept a number. Utilizing justified indignation against circulation through the mails of racist and fascist literature, the government has closed down three post office boxes. And it has approved of the finger-printing and photographing of workers employed on the site of the 1967 World's Fair.

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The Cheapest, Most Efficient Kill

Government spokesmen have been talking nothing but peace and disarmament. They started to talk real loud and often in such terms at the very time that they were giving the go-ahead to the wheeling of the nuclear warheads across the border to be fixed into position on the Bomarcs. And they have been talking louder and oftener ever since.

Prime Minister Pearson said, in both English and French, over a special 30 minute CBC TV and radio network, that Canada has begun the renegotiation of a defence policy that "would require a diminution of any kind of nuclear arms and equipment." External Affairs Minister Martin resolved that "1964 will be the year which will see further measures along the road toward complete and controlled disarmament." Defence Minister Hellyer has been speaking far and wide on the improbability of a nuclear war and the need to scale back to conventionally armed forces.

So much for the talk—what about the deeds! Now we have the White Paper spelling out the government's real intentions.

Is there even a word in it about renegotiating Canadian nuclear commitments with NATO? Quite the contrary — it suggests Canada must accept whatever NATO assigns it, including involvement in any U.S. decision to establish a nuclear armed missile system.

To be sure the White Paper outlines a dynamic policy—but not one connected in any way with peace and disarmament. There are to be drastic cuts and shakeups—but entirely in the area of personnel. All three services will be streamlined—to make them more efficient—the infamous U.S. Marine Corps is even mentioned as a model. They are to be more efficient so that the real, the actual expenditures in equipment and armament will be greater than ever before.

Present war expenditures will be maintained and even raised to meet increased costs. 21% of the tax dollar is still to go to the military. But with the new proposals the government expects to increase the proportion actually spent on equipment and armament from 13 to 25% of the total. The new policy adds up to, achieving more lethal power per man, increased efficiency to cut down the unit cost of killing.

Far from moving in the direction of "a dimunition of any kind of nuclear arms and equipment," the paper suggests that the naval forces might well be strengthened by the addition of nuclear powered submarines. The aircraft favored by the minister is the projected US-made TFX, useless in brush wars. Like the nuclear submarine, the TFX is designed for an assault role, for employment against forces such as only the Soviet Union possesses in a kind of war that would certainly escalate into the nuclear war.

The policy of the Canadian government is not peace and disarmament but remains one of maintaining an aggressive war posture against the Soviet Union. Perhaps that is why with plans to continue spending 1.6 billion dollars each year for the next decade there can be no hospital beds for emergencies of any kind in the entire metropolis of Toronto.

More Loyal Than an Opposition

The appeal by the 10 Ontario youth, who were expelled almost a year ago from the NDP-NDY, to the Ontario Provincial Council last month met with defeat. While in one case the vote was 29 for and 20 against the executive's action, the expulsions were upheld.

"By confirming the expulsion of ten young radicals . . . the council turned decisively toward moderate economic and social planning that leaves room for both public and private enterprise," commented the **Globe and Mail.**

On the surface the statement that these expulsions mark such a decisive turning point would seem to be a wild exaggeration. But there is a profound truth in it. In order to carry out the expulsions and to defend their act from question the leadership has had to poison the entire Ontario section. For there is nothing more oppressive than the atmosphere generated by harassment of persons for alleged dangerous thoughts and dangerous associations.

At any rate party leaders in the house of commons by their recent actions would appear to be working their hardest to affirm the statement that the expulsions mark a decisive turn on their part towards peaceful co-existence with capitalism.

Who shows more concern than anyone about the Quebec armoury raids? While the government belittles them and Social Credit Rally leader Real Caouette expresses sympathy and understanding for the rebellious youth, it is NDP leader T. C. Douglas who warns of civil insurrection and demands the government intensify RCMP efforts against the culprits.

Who expresses the most devout shock and indignation over protests against the Queen visiting Quebec? While Caouette shrewdly contrasts the Queen's finery with that of thousands of Canadian mothers whose dress betrays that they exist on family allowance or unemployment insurance, while he contrasts the dangers confronting royalty "in some corners of the Empire" to that faced daily due to economic uncertainty by the subjects "in many corners of our own country," the "monarchists" Harold Winch and T. C. Douglas call upon the government to apprehend writers of letters to **Le Devoir.**

And now the **Toronto Star** has the veteran NDP MP for Nanaimo, Colin Cameron, in its stable of columnists. What does he use his March 26 column on the Canadian troops for Cyprus vote for? Certainly not to express so much as a doubt as to the adviseability of Canadian involvement, or so much as a protest against the flagrant violation of house rules by the prime minister to swing through the motion of approval.

Cameron attacks Real Caouette and two of his colleagues who subtly suggested opposition to Canadian involvement in Cyprus. He even sanctifies for the government's future use, the idea that it "must be prepared to bend the rules and cut a few corners" when it is necessary to get its way. It just wasn't necessary on this occasion, he advises. And he even dares to write that "the government was under no legal obligation to ask for parliamentary approval" in this matter.

The NDP members are not an opposition in the house of commons, even of the "loyal" variety. If the party were to be evaluated by the role of its MP's we would be compelled to write it off entirely as a labor party or even as a force with the perspective of becoming a labor party.

Fortunately the significance of the NDP is not to be determined by the role of its leadership. Not yet!

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Garfield Weston, Tory-Lib. Govts., and SA Apartheid

By P. Kent

Food tycoon W. Garfield Weston's fulisome praise and whitewash of the fascist-like South African government and his vile slander of the Negro peoples in the most ignorant and vicious racist terminology has provoked heated reactions.

After all Mr. Weston heads one of the largest food manufacturing and marketing corporations in the world. He has been widely publicized as the personification of the Canadian success story, of the capitalist, free enterprise spirit, the physical embodiment and proof of his class' fitness to rule. His speech to the annual meeting of shareholders who came to cut the dividend pie 13% bigger than any previous cut, has embarassed his associates and all their acolytes — many of whom hold his views but don't like to be publicly identified with them.

Anti-Weston Action Groups have been formed to picket the far flung Loblaw stores. Various groups, African student, NAACP, labor and church, have protested and demanded a retraction. Even the editors of the daily press, more in sorrow than in anger, have felt called upon to upbraid this errant.

NDP party whip Stanley Knowles querried the government as to whether, in view of previous anti-apartheid statements, it was prepared to cut off its purchases from the Weston food chain. But the truth is that while Liberal and Tory leaders disapprove of Weston blabbing out, when in government both have done little more than deplore South African apartheid policies in the most tokenist and hypocritical way.

A world wide trade and diplomatic boycott was called for in 1958 and reaffirmed in 1960 by the Afro-Asian Solidarity conference attended by 50 delegates from various African and Asian countries.

In 1963 various African ministers meeting in Addis Ababa called for immediate implementation and enforcement of their own trade and diplomatic boycotts. They further decided to launch a campaign for the expulsion of SA from all international organizations.

Through their actions the African representatives forced the resignation of SA from the UN Economic Commission for Africa, pressured the UN Conference on Tourism so that it invited SA to withdraw, and have protested, walked out of, boycotted, the Conference of the Food and Agricultural Organizations, the International Monetary Fund meeting, etc., etc.

One African nation after another has closed its sea and airports to SA and banned all exports. This boycott has spread over into Asia where even the impoverished Phillipines abandoned the highly profitable trade in hard woods that it had carried on with SA. The Soviet Union, China, all the workers states, have complied with the November 1962 resolution passed by the general assembly of the UN.

(See Page 4 — PROFITS)

Profit from Boycott of S

(Continued From Page One)

But neither Britain, United States nor Canada have done anything to translate their few pious words of protest against apartheid into deeds. Both United States and Britain have a tremendous stake in South Africa from which they gain colossal profits extorted from apartheid labor. Associated Foods, with George Weston as its chairman, has invested nearly 15 million dollars in SA's leading baking and milling concern — Premier Milling Co. Ltd.

Far from joining the boycott actions against SA the Liberal government, as the Tory government before it, has retained Canada's Commonwealth trade preferences for SA goods—though SA is no longer even a member of the Commonwealth. Trade Minister Sharp defends this on the basis that it is not actually a violation of GATT as it is not a new preference but "the continuation of an existing preference."

Canadian business interests have actually taken advantage of the boycott to step in and h their trade with SA to an all high. Last year Canadian ex jumped 62.6% over the pre year. Imports jumped 12 m to an all time high of 31 m dollars.

NDP member of the On legislature, Stephen Lewis, placed a resolution on the paper urging the governme ban the sale of all SA pro in the province. The goverr is itself a major purchaser vendor of African goods th its Liquor Control Board s

There is little doubt tha Robarts government will f lift the resolution from the paper and that the reso will die there. If there is any Canadian action again apartheid policies of the African government it will to be a popular action—an sion of the boycott demo tions that have appeared Loblaws and which shou mounted against provincial ernment-liquor outlets.

#96 Mid-April 1964

No Troops for Vietnam! Withdraw from Cyprus!

By the Editors

Reacting to U.S. President Johnson's statement that other nations should participate with the U.S. forces of intervention in Vietnam, NDP leader T. C. Douglas has asked the prime minister if Canada has received any specific request. He asked the prime minister for his assurance that such a request will be refused. Mr. Pearson replied with a curt "No such request has been made to the Canadian government."

Mr. Douglas is justifiably alarmed over the possibility that Canada will be pressed to participate in the dirty war in Vietnam and that the Liberal government will give in to this pressure.

The military and poiltical arm of the U.S. capitalist class has taken

(See Page 3—Neither Vietnam)

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Neither Vietnam nor Cyprus!

(Continued From Page One)

over in South Vietnam in a desperate bid to sustain a totally discredited gang of cut throats against the popular forces of a social revolution, the success of which threatens to sweep the imperialists right out of the Far East.

The real character of U.S. intervention in Vietnam is becoming more clear for all to see and the Pentagon is anxious to obtain allies. It is not help in the form of materfel, or troops that the State Department seeks—it suffers no such shortages. Rumour has it, according to Douglas, that Canada is being asked for hospital and medical personnel. What the Pentagon seeks is a new cover for its nefarious and bloody work. And of course their friend Pearson could hope to pull off Canadian involvment much easier if it is garnished up as being purely humanitarian.

Isn't that how Canada got drawn into Cyprus—as a "peace keeper"? The Cypriots are determined to rid themselves of imperialist and capitalist exploitation. The British, faced with the loss of their military installations that they now share with the Pentagon, reestablished Turkish claims in the hope that they could divide and pit against one another Turk and Greek Cypriot who in the previous struggle for independence had formed a solid front. Unable to carry out their divide and rule strategy under their own flag they accepted UN intervention which Makarios acceded to.

The 1,000 odd Canadian soldiers, who even the doctored press reports reveal have been met with suspicion, appear under the banner and berets of the United Nations. But the fraudulent character of this disguise was brought home when the hated British forces of occupation made the simple transformation into UN forces by the mere adoption of the UN colors.

The bill approving the sending of the Van Doos was jammed through the house, in violation of its rules, under the guise that they were going to prevent a war—they went as "peace keepers," as upholders of law and order. But what law, what order of things? The constitution framed by Whitehall and acceded to by Makarios after years of bloody struggle!

This constitution authorized Turkish contingents on Cypriot soil, a Turkish vice-president with veto powers over Makarios, a parliament which in order to act required approval by a majority of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots voting separately, no constitutional ammendments without consent of all three—Britain, Greece and Turkey—and a guarantee of 30% of all government posts and 40% of police and army posts for Turkish-Cypriots, although they compose only 17% of the total population.

On April 9 President Makarios abrogated this constitution, in particular that part which authorized Greece and Turkey to station national contingents on the island. Greece made known that it favors full and unrestricted independence for Cyprus. But in the face of this, UN mediator Fumioja stated that he considers the 1960 treaty and constitution still valid. So does the Canadian government with its troops on the spot.

NDP MP Arnold Peters has charged that he has been refused transport to Cyprus although planes going there contain empty seats and authorities know that he is prepared to pay his own expenses in Cyprus. Despite all the pressure from both PC and NDP members, UN directives governing Canadian troops have not been revealed. But on April 16 following a Canadian squad coming under Turkish Cypriot fire the Canadian staff there took it upon itself to make a far reaching interpretation of their orders. The contingent's field commander directed that they would use the necessary means to "protect with gunfire Canadian lives, property and positions." Now that the conflict is heating up, such a policy can transform Canadian involvement from "peace making" into war making on a big scale—war making to sustain a constitution which is a violation of every concept of democracy that the people of Canada hold dear.

Canadian troops should never have gone into Cyprus. It is time they were withdrawn before we get involved in a full scale imperialist war against the Cypriots, before there are Canadian casualties, before it's too late!

Behind the Unfurling of Canada's New Flag

By The Editors

Some of the opponents of Prime Minister Pearson's flag claim that Canada, until it adopts this one, has never had a flag. There is no truth in this. The Canadian flag has been the Red Ensign and/or the Union Jack.

The Liberal government which oversees the great natural resources of Canada's land mass, the accumulated wealth and the tremendous creative energies of its peoples, in the interests of the capitalist class who control the commanding heights of the economy, is finding that it is no longer useful to fly the Red Ensign or the Union Jack.

One of the great new realities of Canadian life is the Quebec

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Behind Canada's New Flag

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Revolution. It is advancing in the direction of ending Quebec as a low wage area for super exploitation. It threatens to tear apart the "unity" that was long ago imposed on the French-Canadian peoples. God Save the Queen, the Red Ensign, and the Union Jack have already been decisively rejected by Quebec.

Recognition of the finality of this, and hope that such a token gesture will help preserve confederation, with its Anglo-American capitalist domination over Quebec life, is one of the major reasons for the Liberal government's proposal to adopt a new flag.

There is another reason. It concerns Canada's role in international politics — in a world that is witness to a continued rise in the tide of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in the colonial and former colonial, under-developed, areas of the globe.

Over and above the protection of Canadian capitalism's own immediate and by no means unsubstantial investments. Ottawa has been ever increasingly involving Canadian armed forces in areas all over the world. As a "middle power" and working to the limit the illusion that Canada has no imperialist interests of her own and can thus serve as an impartial arbiter, both Liberal and Tory governments have acted as fronts for the hopelessly discreditted British and now US imperialist interests.

The importance that Lester Pearson in particular gives to this role is revealed in his most recent proposal that Canada with other unnamed powers form an international military force completely outside of the UN—of course ready to be used upon its request—if those who control it agree.

Early this month while giving a Dag Hammarskjold memorial lecture at Carleton University, Mr. Pearson revealed a problem in these operations. He recalled when he was preparing the UN Emergency Force that was necessary to rescue French and British imperialism from their ill conceived attack on Egypt which threatened to wipe out all the holdings of world imperialism in the Middle East. A factor in the crisis involved symbols "I'll never forget the night," he said, "when Ottawa told me they were prepared to send the Queen's Own Rifles. I just wondered how that name would appeal to the Egyptians who had been busy trying to get the Queen's forces out of Egypt." When they offered the Black Watch he said he couldn't see any improvement. As an expression of the dilemma he was in Mr. Pearson repeated a comment he made to Ottawa officials as a joke. I asked, he said "whether we didn't have something like the First East Kootenay Anti-Imperialist Regiment."

In order to effectively serve the major imperialist powers on a front which is ever widening with the continued successes of the colonial freedom struggles, it is all the more necessary that Canada take on the symbols of a fully independent power. The adoption of a flag not associated with any other is a useful, a necessary action to this purpose.

For all the protests of the opposition in respect to the adoption of the new flag the Pearson government has conducted itself so as to remove the question from the arena of partisan politics. The free vote will allow every party, including the Liberals, to have its advocates and its opponents of the flag—yet guarantee when the vote comes that the outcome will be such as to not bring the government down on the issue.

So Canada will adopt a new flag. The problems of mounting debts, of automation and unemployment, of nuclear arms and the dauger of world destruction, will be overwhelmed for a period with empty sound and fury.

Danger Over Cuba!

The Cuban exile groups which U.S. authorities permit to train in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean are being given their head. They could never hope to harm Cuba without U.S. aid. Indeed they could not even come in sight of the island, let alone carry out offshore bombings, without being permitted to pass through the blockade that the U.S. has illegally imposed on Cuba.

The aims of the U.S. government are clear — such journals as Newsweek openly writes of the desirability of Manuel Ray setting up a guerrilla operation in some Cuban sierra which would unite all the forces of the counterrevolution and thus enable Washington to give its official recognition and then render much more massive and effective aid to crush the revolution.

With the toppling of the constitutional president of Brazil the U.S. achieved a further isolation of Cuba in the Latin American context.

It is scarcely creditable that Canada has escaped the increased pressures and threats of reprisals that the U.S. government has levelled against England, France, Yugoslavia, Spain, Morocco and others for their much more limited trade with Cuba. Ottawa has already limited its trade with Cuba to the lists of non-strategic goods spelled out by Washington. But now, in violation of all previous humanitarian pretences, the U.S. government has slapped an embargo on the sale of medicines and even food to Cuba.

Ottawa has remained silent in the face of all these provocations. Silence in such times can only mean acquiesence. Yet so tense is the situation that the editors of the Globe and Mail feel called upon to appeal against U.S. Secretary of State Rusk's demands on the NATO powers as being "doomed to failure" and as embodying the danger upon failure that even "more drastic measures will then be advocated." On the other hand the editors of the influential Toronto Star would prepare us to accept the next measure. While recognizing that the U 2 flights over Cuban territory are "illegal by any standards of international conduct" they cynically declare them to be justified. While it is apparent that it is Cuban security alone that is being threatened, they declare the flights to be necessary for U.S. security

The duty of Canadians is clear. The situation being provoked by the U.S. State Department is not just a matter of concern to socialists—those who see in Cuba the anathema of the forces of the economic and social status quo which enslave the peoples of Latin America, and the harbinger of the victory of socialism on the North American continent. It is of vital concern to those who believe that all peoples, including Canadians, should be free to shape their own destiny, to create the social order they desire, to trade with whom they want. It is vital to all, for it could lead to the nuclear destruction of mankind.

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A Significant Aspect of the Moscow-Peking Dispute

By P. Kent

The denunciations of Trotskyism, the accusations which the Chinese and the Khrushchevists keep throwing at each other on this topic, is an element in the conflict that is assuming greater and greater importance. Something much more is involved than using a term that has long been the worst possible epithet among Communist Parties. The accusation of Trotskyism has been raised onto the political level.

Now, when it comes to the positions of Trotskyism, there are not only the routinist Stalin-era distortions but it is apparent that both are following the current publications of the Trotskyist movement.

In the seventh of their articles in reply to the CPSU the editors of Peking Review string together selections from three different statements of the Trotskyist movement which, aside from being torn out of context, are utilized to deliberately falsify the true position of the Trotskyist movement. They attempt to prove they support Khrushchev right down the line when the fact is that from the very beginning the Trotskyists have offered critical support to the Chinese. Not on deStalinization of course, but on the primacy of the international class struggle, the importance of the colonial revolution, on the question of the road to power, etc., etc.

Soviet spokesman Suslov's reply is of course loaded with deliberate distortions of the Trotskyist and Chinese positions, but he too takes it onto a more serious plane.

"Does anyone think perhaps that the Chinese theory making the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America the 'principal zone of the storms of the world revolution' represents something original? No! This", he declares, "is the repetition almost word for word of one of the principal theses of current Trotskyism. One can read in the decisions of the so-called Fourth International (Trotskyist): 'As a result of the successive failure of the two major revolutionary waves of 1919-23 and of 1943-48—and of the minor one of 1934-37—the main center of world revolution shifted for a time to the colonial world.' Here is where the source of the political wisdom of the Chinese leadership must be sought."

"The Chinese leaders," he continues, "make out that they have not noticed all this. They probably reason in the following way: 'Present-day Trotskyism is a little-known current and one can profit from their ideas by giving them a "Chinese" aspect.' But in the end the truth always comes out. The Chinese leadership wanted very much to hide the sources from which they drew their ideas; they cannot succeed in dissimulating the coincidence between their views and those of the Trotskyites of yesterday and today."

These words indicate the fear that Trotskyism arouses among the masters of the Kremlin. Suslov appeals to the Chinese—What do you think you are doing combatting us with ideas you have taken from Trotskyism — the truth will out—you will not succeed in reviving Stalin but you will play into the hands of the Trotskyists!

The Chinese in the May 1st Peking Review return Suslov's warning that it is Khrushchev who is aiding the Trotskyists:

"We must remind you," they write, "that there is indeed a person who in the past supported Trotsky's reactionary views and had therefore to make a self-criticism for committing the error of Trotskyism; that there is indeed a person who, singing the same tune as Trotsky, launched a frenzied campaign against Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist party, with the result that the Trotskyites in all countries, then at the end of their rope, began to raise their heads; and that there is indeed a person who is now in collusion with Trotskyites everywhere and buying them over for the dirty work of sabotaging revolution. We are prepared to publish the relevant materials when necessary."

The charge that the Trotskyists are in the pay of, are being financed by, Khrushchev makes a logical counterpoint to the material that appeared last fall in the Yorkshire Post and the Parisian Le Figaro, implying that the Trotskyists are receiving gold, not from Moscow, but from Peking.

These allusions to finances being disbursed by both Peking and Moscow to the Trotskyist movement did not fail to attract the attention of the treasurer of the Fourth International, Pierre Frank, one of the founders of the world Trotskyist organization. Frank was still trying to track down the Chinese funds supposed to be flowing into the movement when he read in Le Monde that it was really Soviet funds, and Peking was prepared to prove it. With such cash in sight he couldn't resist the temptation and sent a letter to the editor of Le Monde, so that his request might be heard in Moscow as well as Peking. He wrote:

"As treasurer of the Fourth International, I can state that I have not received a centime either directly or indirectly from Moscow, and my organization is in financial difficulty from one year's end to the next. I am thus obliged to ask—if you will excuse the expression — "Where's the dough?' And I invite Peking to publish whatever proofs it has without waiting, and I ask Moscow to indicate to whom the funds were sent.

"If I can take advantage of your courtesy, I should like to add that before the war the Trotskyist movement was accused of being in the pay of Hitler and the Mikado and some months ago it was said in the British press that Peking was sending big sums to the Trotskyists. But in no case did any of this money reach me. Has it become necessary to remind them, then, that we are a movement doing everything that revolutionaries can possibly do in the open, that I have a very modest office at 21 rue d'Aboukir in Paris, and that it is surprising that governments in other ways so sensible should always resort to questionable intermediaries to send money to those for whom it appears, it is intended?"

The Canadian Communist Party couldn't stay out of the act. Tom McEwen, editor of the Pacific Tribune, had his bit to say in his column reproduced in the Canadian Tribune March 30. According to McEwen the Trotskyists are on the payroll, not of Peking or Moscow but of the big monopolies in Canada. "Tribune readers and supporters know something of the effort and sacrifice needed to keep their paper a going concern. What then of the tons of Trotskyite, anti-Soviet, and anti-Canadian profascist literary filth that is given away for 'free' every week in Canada . . . with the big monopolies keeping the 'John Bircher' and similar treasuries well filled, it is a safe bet to assume that their Canadian counterparts, together with home-grown monopoly, perform a similar 'pay-triotic' duty to keep their ultra-Right and ultra-Left disruption factories running full capacity."

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No Canadian Support For U.S. Southeast Asia Policy!

By The Editors

"The U.S.," said Canadian Secretary of State Paul Martin, "expressed approval of the Canadian initiative in the field of international peacekeeping activities," in his comments to the house on his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Rusk and U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara

And Canada, meaning the Pearson government, he said in so many words, gave its approval to the U.S. and its brinkmanship in Southeast Asia. Then he tossed in what he hopes will serve as a sop to the profound uneasiness across the country over President Johnson's declarations that he is prepared to take the war into China over the situation in Vietnam. "There is no intention on the part of Canada," said the secretary of state, "to undertake any new military obligations in this area."

NDP leader T. C. Douglas was a thousand times correct when he

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challenged "I don't think it is enough for the government to come back to the house of commons and to say they made no new commitments in Southeast Asia. I would hope that the government of Canada makes it clear to the U.S. that we view with alarm unilateral action by the U.S. and that we wish to dissociate ourselves from any repercussions which may arise from the policy which it has adopted."

Indeed, it is not enough to dissociate Canada from repercussions which may arise from present U.S. policy in Southeast Asia which holds such peril for all mankind. It is necessary to demand that it get out of Southeast Asia. It is necessary to speak up now, under every possible circumstance and as boldly as possible, against Washington's entire foreign policy and Canada's abject subservience to it.

Why hasn't even a word been uttered by the Canadian representative on the International Control Commission struck off in the 1954-62 Geneva accords? For all the unsubstantiated U.S. charges about Chinese violations—U.S. violations have been so flagrant that even Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma felt called upon to protest.

According to the Hon. Paul Martin, "the U.S. objective is simply the proper execution of the Geneva accord of 1954-62". But is it not "rather strange", as Mr. Douglas pointed out, "that a nation not a signatory of these agreements is now placing itself in the position of an enforcer of an agreement it did not sign."

Is the U.S. peacemaking? Is it stopping aggression with its 15,000 troops there as "advisors", with a colossal air base 350 miles north of Saigon, five shiploads of military equipment in Thailand, 3,000 planes in the Pacific, the Seventh Fleet along the Asian coast, and now the appointment of a service general as ambassador. When China, painted up as a provocateur and aggressor, is suffering severe shortages of military equipment due to Khrushchev's cutoff of military supplies four years ago and, as NATO strategists interpret a recent Soviet statement, has been warned she cannot count on Soviet backing in a crisis such as the situation in Viet Nam would cover.

It is not China that the Pentagon is confronted with in Vietnam. It is apparent that without U.S. "advisors" and U.S. "aid" that the war there could not be kept going. The U.S. has taken over there lock stock and barrel from a government that was made in Washington and which is bitterley opposed by almost every layer of the population.

The Pentagon is fighting an entire peoples in revolt—struggling to throw out a corrupt and venal regime, to rid themselves of imperialist exploiters and their allies, the native usurers and landlords.

The U.S. is in there with rockets and naplam bombs in its role as world policeman, to defend its own immediate imperialist interests and to shore up the entire colonial and neocolonial system that is threatened with being overrun by the rising tide of social revolution. Confronted with an unconquerable will to struggle on the part of the colonial peoples, in desperation, it is prepared to imperil the security of the entire world.

It is essential to world peace that Canada cease being an echo as it has been all along under the Liberals and Tories, of U.S. State department policy. It is time to launch an all-out campaign to break Canada from NORAD, from NATO, and to win it to a totally different foreign policy—one directed towards the recognition of the right of all peoples to self determination, towards peace and disarmament, towards trade, aid and friendship with the peoples of the entire world.

No Canadian Support for U.S. In Vietnam!

By The Editors

If North Vietnam is not at this moment the arena of a confrontation of U.S. armed might against the armed might of the Chinese Peoples Republic, if we do not yet have another Korea on even a bigger scale, threatening momentarily to escalate into the IIIrd World War and the destruction of mankind in a nuclear holocaust, it is no fault of President Johnson, the U.S. State Department, and the Pentagon.

When they launched massive assault forces with nuclear capacity out over North Vietnam, which they boast in one blow destroyed 10% of its oil storage capacity and three quarters of its tiny naval force, the U.S. government not only committed an act of ruthless aggression, "tantamount," as NDP leader T. C. Douglas stated, "to a declaration of war." As the Chinese government has charged, they "went over the brink of war."

If we had only the experience of the phoney machine-gunned and shell-blasted transport plane that limped into Miami heralding the CIA-engineered Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba we would be skeptical of the incident that has been provided to justify this perilous action. Several tiny, ineptly handled, North Vietnamese PT boats are alleged to have taken on and left unscarred the flag ship of a U.S. fleet.

We may never know the full facts about this incident. But we do know that since the end of World War II the U.S. ruling class has been building up a situation in the Far East that make such incidents inevitable.

We know that the U.S. has assembled one of the most powerful military forces in human history, thousands of miles from its shores and right off the shores of China. The Gulf of Tokin is no more international waters and no less Chinese and North Vietnamese waters than the Gulf of St. Lawrence is Canadian waters.

We know that the U.S. is actually doing what, with flimsy evidence, she charges North Vietnam is doing — intervening in South Vietnam—which after all was one people and one country until truncated by the Big Powers at Geneva. We know that the U.S. is claiming to uphold agreements of which she is not even a signatory, that she is intervening in South Vietnam on the "request" of what is merely a puppet government of her own creation.

We know that this venal crew is in a serious internal crisis, that leading elements have been pressing for the employment of the latest U.S. equipment in assaults on the North and have been conducting raids there. We know, even from the daily news services, that what the U.S. is calling a conspiracy of assassins is a people in revolt attempting to rid themselves of a corrupt and murderous dictatorship that stands in the way of necessary revolutionary changes.

With the same cynical contempt that they demonstrated for U.S. government bodies, President Johnson and the lords of the Pentagon informed their junior partners in Ottawa after the event. With shameless haste the Pearson government, with the support of the capitalist Tory party and the two Social Credit parties, underwrote the deed. Only NDP leader T. C. Douglas protested. He demanded that it

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Automation Big Issue at Ontario NDP Rally

By Cliff Orchard

Automation can be a tremendous boon to mankind by drastically reducing the amount of hard labor and sweat involved in production. But futuristic visions are sharply punctured by on-the-job experiences with new technology and speed-up. This, and the steady stream of articles from the press and reports of various agencies and bureaus where estimates are made that 4,000 to 4,500 jobs a week in Canada are being displaced by new machines, make obvious the threat that automation today holds for the security of all workers, regardless of age, sex, or occupation.

Even the most powerful industrialists and financiers who own the vast industrial and administrative complexes and are introducing automation into them have gnawing fears about its repercussions. And you can be sure it isn't the ensuing unemployment of thousands of workers that unnerves them. For although it is designed to improve their competitive position at the expense of one another, and to boost profits by cutting labor costs, the new technology threatens to immeasurably sharpen already existing contradictions in capitalist society. It could set off such forces that they are beginning to doubt capitalism's stability and their ability to maintain their rule—at least in the old way. It is no accident that discussions on automation in even the most con-

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be made clear that the Canadian people "are not prepared to support military actions or attacks on naval bases and in order to buttress sawdust Caesars who are perpetuating dictatorships without the consent of their subjects."

Instead of pulling back from commitment of Canada to U.S. State Department policies, over which it has been proven to have no influence let alone control, the Canadian government through military aid to Malaysia has been more firmly committing us in the Far East.

Certainly the Canadian people are not prepared to uphold the ruthless dictatorships that are attempting to maintain imperialist exploitation against the forces of social change. But the Pearson government is committing us to just this, as did the Diefenbaker government before it.

The Canadian people need to be mobilized behind such demands as "Hands off North Vietnam." "Withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam." Canada must break from its subservience to U.S. foreign policy, must rid itself of the nuclear equipment at La Macaza and North Bay, must withdraw from the military alliances of NATO and NORAD and adopt a new foreign policy of friendship peace and trade with all peoples.

The reckless actions over Vietnam demonstrated that there can be no security in the world until the war-making powers are taken out of the hands of the U.S. power structure and their Canadian lackeys. They demonstrate that peace lies in putting the New Democratic Party in power, along the road to a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

Labour Must Take Over NDP

Last issue of Vanguard reported Steelworkers' leader Bert Gargrave's challenge that the NDP must become a labor party—that the unions must move in and take the lead in shaping party policy, run for executive offices and seek to win nomination as party candidates.

The July 16 report of the Toronto and District Labour Council PEC affirmed our report but also contained a short item on the coming Riverdale (Toronto) by-election. All by-elections are important since they contrast party policies and image in the sharpest way—besides the party with least financial resources can concentrate to apply maximum effort. This by-election is particularly important for Liberal candidate Templeton. Should he win he will almost certainly become that party's new leader. Templeton was singled out by Gargrave as the type of Liberal demagogue who makes the present non-labor image of the NDP so dangerous.

The PEC report praises the NDP candidate as "excellent." Is he a unionist or a candidate who presents a labor image in any way? Not at all! He is exactly the type that Gargrave has spoken up against — "a lawyer with a distinguished scholastic record, a major in the Canadian army during the last war," reads the report.

At one time it looked like a reverend would get the Riverdale NDP nomination, then a doctor; Gargrave himself was too busy.

Campaign director is MLA Stephen Lewis who reacted to the defeat of the 20 year old Saskatchewan CCF-NDP government just a few months ago with the comment that it could have the salutary effect of forcing the party to the left, to sharply differentiate itself from the old-line liberal-reformist parties of Big Business.

The first leaflet now being distributed through this solidly working class riding says almost nothing about the NDP but is strong in liberal-reformist appeal, heavily emphasizing Renwick as a big and successful corporation lawyer who belongs to the right clubs.

The same meeting of the Toronto and District Labour Council received a report from the municipal committee outlining a municipal program. While generally vague it did call for amalgamation, for slum clearance, low cost housing and planning, for the extension of the vote to all 21 year olds and over, and for an easing of the tax burden from small homeowners through the elimination of tax exemptions being granted to private rental accommodations and corporations. The committee did not say whether its endorsations would hinge on acceptance of this program.

Last municipal election neither the NDP nor the labor council ran a candidate for mayor. The council broke a longstanding tradition by actually endorsing one of two Tories who contested the mayoralty. It fell to the League for Socialist Action to uphold the banner of independent labor political action by running Ross Dowson for mayor.

The PEC report says that Gargarve appealled to the NDP and organized labor to give greater attention to municipal elections and for trade unionists to make themselves available as candidates. Will this prove to be so much talk too?

Behind Liberal Govt's Policy on

CANADA - CUBA TRADE & OAS

by Ross Dowson

The Pearson government has refused to support the Organization of American States' decision to impose a cordon sanitaire around the tiny island republic of Cuba. It did so despite considerable pressure from the U.S. State Department which even went so far as to bring about the personal intervention of W. Averell Harriman, undersecretary of state for political affairs, at the Canadian-American Assembly in Mont Gabriel, Quebec.

External Affairs Minister Martin had no comment to make when queried by NDP member Barry Mather as to whether he would now reply to a question he had been asked prior to the U.S. imposing its total Cuba blockade position on the OAS. He had nothing to say on the possibility of Canada playing a conciliatory role between the OAS and Cuba.

The honorable minister arrogantly ignored NDP member H. W. Herridge (Kootenay West) who asked "does not the minister think it is about time Canada began to indicate its opposition to this latest expression of United States economic imperialism?"

He stated that his government will continue to recognize the Cuban government, and while it will continue to ban the export of strategic materials and bar the trans-shipment through Canada of U.S. goods to Cuba, it will continue its trade wtih Cuba which in the first five months of this year totalled 26.5 million dollars —some 10 million more than the entire year's trade in 1963 and 16 million more than in 1962.

Tory leader Diefenbaker asked whether the contradiction between OAS policy and Canadian policy should not cause the Canadian government to "take care" in joining the OAS. Pressed by Diefenbaker, Martin tried to take his party off the hook by claiming that it was merely a personal view that he expressed during the elections that Canada should immediately join the OAS. He said that it was still his personal view, but that his government must "take great care". "There are many considerations involved in this matter," he said.

The only consideration Martin spelled out was entirely within the framework that Canada should and will join the OAS— "the fact of possible Caribbean-commonwealth membership in the OAS."

But there are other considerations that have caused the Liberals to not toe the line in the blockade of Cuba and to not take Canada into the OAS. And it is not through any lack of desire with regards to both, on their part.

One of the considerations is the obvious crude bullying and blackmail before world public opinion that the U.S. employed to line up its various Latin American satraps behind its imperialist policies. The Alliance for Progress, for all the Madison Avenue demagogy surrounding it, has proved to be a less substantial piece of paper than President Johnson's cable of congratulations to the plotters of the counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in Brazil. To associate Canada with the OAS at this juncture would quickly end any usefulness Canada now has as a front and "independent" apologist for the U.S. State Department on the world political arena.

Besides, Canada is not exactly a banana republic. While the Canadian capitalists share the exploitation of Canada's vast resources with the various American capitalists, they have their own interests and are in political control in the northern sector of America. They could not possibly submit to the type of pressures that the U.S. has employed in the OAS on this occassion, and their differences would put considerable strain on inter-OAS relations, not to speak of U.S.-Canadian relations themselves.

Another of the "considerations" uppermost in the government's mind that inhibits it from submitting to the OAS decisions is the wide mistrust and fear among the Canadian people that U.S. policies have little in common with their interests, often violate them, and can easily result in actions that could escalate into a nuclear disaster.

Fidel Castro's interview with the New York Times on the eve of the OAS gathering, in which from a firm defence of the revolution he presented a series of reasonable offers for a detente, could not but help influence broad layers of Americans.

It caused the editors of the Globe and Mail, one of the most important voices of Canadian big business interests, to challenge the U.S. in a July 27 editorial with failure to test Castro's words. After declaring the U.S. to be "in the wrong" they ask "why do they persist in remaining there?"

Not that there can be any serious doubts on this matter, they ask what U.S. intentions are toward Cuba. "Is the United States determined to overthrow the Castro government?" After condemning such a policy as quite inacceptable they state that "what form of government Cuba has is Cuba's business." In a July 31 editorial they declare that the OAS is "Not Our Club."

The most alarming aspect of this "consideration" for the Pearson government is the fact that these widespread sentiments have an independent political expression in the existence of the New Democratic Party. The official policy of the NDP and even more so the parliamentary leadership's day to day actions cripple a full and logical development of these sentiments. But even so, the NDP as it now is, and particularly their awareness of its potential since it is firmly rooted in the trade union movement, forces the Liberals to "take great care" in working out the forms of their subservience to U.S. imperialist policies.

This healthy distrust of U.S. State Department policies among the Canadian people serves as a powerful pressure today. It can be transformed from a pressure into the Canadian working people developing a completely independent foreign policy through their taking the political power from the capitalist class into their own hands. That is why it must be organized and consciously developed if we are to head off what the decisions rammed through the OAS by the State Department are merely the prelude for—the crushing of the Cuban revolution, its heroic peoples, and the great hopes that it holds for socialism on this continent.

Unity Only Way to Victory For Toronto Typos Strike

By P. Kent

Labor Day in some cities will celebrate the unification of the International Photo Engravers Union and the Amalgamated Lithographers of America — the first amalgamation of two graphic arts union in nearly 50 years.

But there will be no celebration in Toronto. There, the Photoengravers are walking through the picket lines set up by the 700 members of the International Typographical Workers Union who have struck the Big Three Toronto newspapers. In the third week of the strike the Engravers' leadership won approval for a contract that contained several of the clauses that the newspaper bosses have been attempting to impose on the typos. The Newspaper Guild members at all three papers, but for a few exceptions, are also crashing the typos' picket, as are the Pressmen, the Stereotypers, the Bookbinders, and the Paperhandlers.

"Every worker is involved" in this strike, said Ontario Federation of Labor Secretary-treasurer Douglas Hamilton, to a meeting of presidents of 228 Toronto area unions, for "this has developed into the first battle in this country over who is going to reap the benefits of automation."

But there is no unity in the graphic arts unions and this is just what is needed to win this strike.

That is not to say that there is no feeling for unity in the ranks of the printing trades and the rest of the organized labor movement—and for the mobilization of that unity to win the strike. The facts are that the leadership of the organized labor movement, for all their declarations that the typo strike must not be another Royal York or Lever Brothers, have been working against the unity that can prevent it from becoming another such defeat for unionism in Toronto.

Labor Council Vice-president Don Montgomery opened the meeting of 228 presidents with a declaration that it was not "a pep rally for the typos, a debate on strategy, a series of testimonials or a Spanish inquisition." It soon became apparent what the meeting was. It was designed to prepare the local presidents to oppose any militant "interference" in this strike that involves everyone. One of the presidents characterized the meeting as a "complacent" meeting where every argument was given why a militant policy should not be implemented. The ITU strike director told the local leaders that he or one of his two assistants would contact them soon to explain in detail the help the printers need.

There can be no doubt that the typos need help. It is transparently clear that the millionaire newspaper lords are out to housebreak if not completely smash the typos, and from a Toronto victory move onto other areas.

Their last offer, decisively defeated by the typos membership in a secret ballot vote of 588 to 5, was presented as a non negotiable package. The local's lawyer, David Lewis, characterized it as "cold blooded" and of such a character that "no self respecting Canadian, whether a member of the union or not, could accept."

The press lords insist that the strikebreakers are to be retained and given permanent employment in preference to strikers with decades of employment. They provocatively demand that the typos pledge themselves not to respect any picket lines of their sister Mailers' union—now on strike in solidarity with the typos.

The typos are publishing an excellent paper, The Printers' Story. It carries streamer heads —Defy Those Lousy Weak Laws —Mass Picketing Saves the Day, and plays up reports on how a "limping San Francisco strike thought hopelessly lost . . . was won in less than a month with the mass picketing of several unions." But there is no relationship between the line of the paper and the policy of the leadership.

The typos strike is now limping into its ninth week. And union militants are still waiting to be contacted with regards to how to help the harassed picketers.

WORKERS Vanguard

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Stop Canada's Entanglement In Malaysia

By P. Kent

Canadian governments have allocated from the public treasury over 12½ million dollars in capital and technical assistance, since the initiation of the Colombo Plan, to states that constitute what is known now as Malaysia.

The government has allocated 1½ million dollars since this multi-lingual, multi-national, multi-cultural political formation was created last year. And now the Pearson government has expressed its intentions of increasing it another 4½ million dollars out of present appropriations, with additional easy long term loans of an undetermined amount. The government is not talking about this being technical assistance. It is for military equipment and projects designed to train personnel for war against guerrilla fighters.

The war is already on. Australian army, navy and airforce units are at battle ready alert throughout Malaysia. New Zealand battalions are involved in combat. Australian and New Zealand officials make no secret of their desire, through the implementation of the Anzus Treaty, to see the United States, already heavily committed to propping up its corrupt Khanh puppet regime in South Viet Nam, become directly involved.

Britain has sent four warships from its Mediterranean fleet plus two destroyers and two frigates to Singapore to buttress its huge naval installations there. Nine aircraft, including four bombers, have been moved to Aden to bring them closer to Singapore, and a 500-man anti-aircraft regiment has been airlifted from Germany into Singapore. British troops are also in action.

It is no accident that The Straits Times of Singapore hailed Canadian aid as having "more than ordinary value." Its editors stated that "Canada has no history of imperialism" and her "national interests are in no way directly engaged in the political quarrels of Southeast Asia." For despite the charges that the new wave of struggle that has broken out is due to Indonesia's airdropping of guerrillas, and that invasion is imminent, the stench of imperialism hangs over the artificially created federation.

Malay itself has only just seen a certain uneasy stabilization of British imperial rule after 12 years of warfare against guerrillas so strongly supported by the peasantry that they were only pushed back by a scorched earth policy, forcible evacuations and detentions of entire communities. Malaya produces 40 percent of the West's tin supply and together with Brunei, where the British recently crushed a popular government, Sarwak and Singapore, constitutes a billion dollar investment in rubber plantations, tin mines and other holdings, as well as a strategic military base.

Malaysia is a completely artificial creation of British imperialism whose puppet head, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, is about as secure in his position as the United State Department's puppet in South Viet Nam. In a counterbalance of forces, the island of Singapore, the economic haert of the federation, with almost 20 percent of the population, has less than 10 percent of the representatives in parliament and not a single member in the national government. By contrast the two underdeveloped states of Sarwak and Sabah, on the Northern edge of Borneo which is part of the Republic of Indonesia, with a combined population of only two-thirds of Singapore, have 40 members.

Tunku is at loggerheads with the prime minister of Singapore who in turn is confronted by a powerful opposition in the Barisian Socialists. In the 1962 merger referendum one quarter of the Singapore electorate cast blank ballots. In the last election this party polled more than one third of the vote, even though it was given only nine days to campaign and dozens of its leaders were in jail.

The federation has been declared by Prime Minister Tunku to be a security area—a man can be executed for carrying illegal arms or jailed for 10 years merely for withholding information. On September 12, in a series of predawn raids, the police arrested scores of the leaders of the union movement and its socialist opponents.

At most, Sukarno could only be aiding a revolutionary independence struggle that has been long underway. He has been able to sustain his own neocolonialist rule, in the face of a whole series of struggles in which the Indonesian workers demanded the legalization of their seizures of British and Dutch holdings, thanks only to the aid of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The Canadian people have no interests in Malaysia. And they have no cause at all to aid or abet British imperialism hold onto its exploitative interests in South East Asia.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas has sought assurances from the Pearson government that Canada in no way aids the U.S. State Department in its efforts to prop up South Viet Nam's Nguyen Khanh; "sawdust Ceasars who are perpetuating dictatorships without the consent of their subjects." Yet the NDP parliamentary caucus has committed itself, along with the Tories and Social Credit, to full support of Pearson's actions to prop up the British puppet Prime Minister Tunku of Malaysia against his subjects who are in widespread revolt.

There is considerable danger, what with New Zealand, Australian and British troops already involved, that the next move will be to commit Canadian armed forces to the scene of action. It is time for the NDP MP's to pull back, and to speak up in opposition to the Pearson government policies—before it is too late.

WORKERS Vanguard

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Workers' Vanguard #101 Oct. 1964

Militant Demonstrations Protest Against Toronto Lords of the Press

By Ross Dowson

The ghost of the rebellious thirties walked again when an estimated 3,500 Torontonians mounted a picket line in the early morning hours of September 23 that completely surrounded the Ontario Parliament buildings at Queen's Park. They were demonstrating their solidarity with the Toronto Typographical workers and the Mailers on strike 12 weeks now against the Big Three newspaper bosses.

A little more than a week previous almost 2,000 typos, mailers and members of the Laborers Union, threw a surprise demonstration that encircled the city hall and jammed the civic square.

The climax of the Queen's Park demonstration was the assembly of the pickets, after almost two hours of demonstration, in front of the main entrance to the parliament to hear a number of speakers. The most effective and most enthusiastically received speech from various trade union leaders was that made by Fur Workers leader Max Federman. He declared that Toronto labor dare not let the typos go down. If necessary all organized Toronto labor would come out in general strike — contracts or no contracts. Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald came out of the house and to the applause of the crowd spoke in firm support of the strike. Newly elected Liberal leader Andrew Thompson had to appeal to the chairman to get a hearing. As his cautious noncommital comments ended, he was challenged by a loud cry from the crowd—Which side are you on? To the report that Tory Premier Robarts was tied up with a delegation which he considered more important than this, a steady chant of We Want Robarts arose. Mr. Robarts finally arrived, as the demonstrators were standing in the rain, to a scattered burst of boos and applause. Robarts anxiously assured the crowd that he would help "in every way to bring this feud to a conclusion."

The main theme of the demonstration under the guidance of the typo leadership was "Let's get this printers' dispute settled." The Toronto city council, whose intervention the leadership invited, took advantage of this demand. Through Controller Herbert Orliffe it presented a five point plan which would have settled the dispute alright, but on the terms of the press lords. Orliffe proposed the typos return to work and resume negotiations on the union-busting proposals of the company, which if unresolved be submitted to binding arbitration. The union leadership of course rejected this kind of settlement of the strike.

The rank and file want to settle the strike — but by winning it. The mood is militant. They want an effective picket line — one which scabs cannot casually walk through and continue to turn out the three dailies as before. The leadership has recognized this and promised it. The massive city hall picket was too close to the Globe and Mail and Star plants for everyone not to think of switching it to there. But Stan Bullock blocked any such sentiments with the assurance that "we will ring the papers with

(See Page 4 — TYPOS)

NDP Ranks Urge Douglas — Speak Up

The Toronto-Beaches riding executive of the New Democratic Party is urging the NDP parliamentary caucus and party leader T. C. Douglas to speak up more vigorously on automation and the demand that "the people must share equitably in the fruits of automation."

NDP leaders have of course made the record—whereas Ontario Tory Premier Robarts has cautioned against the concept that government should move in on problems created by automation. But the constituency organization wants more than that. Particularly do they want a more forthright identification with the Toronto newspaper strike — Canada's first automation strike — on the part of the NDP MP's.

The executive told party leader Douglas that "The Federal caucus or yourself should publicly re-state that the NDP is concerned about the problems of automation and indicate support for the printers on strike in Toronto."

Typos Strike

(Continued From Page One)

pickets and prevent newspapers from getting onto the streets" another time—"if the publishers do not come to their senses and go back to the negotiating table."

On September 28 the typos set up their first mass picket line at a non-union shop that has been setting advertisements for the three dailies. About 150 typos and mailers, joined by members of the Laborer's Union, tied-up operations for 3½ hours. Typo president McCormack promised this "first truly effective picket line . . . is the first of many."

KEEPING US HAPPY ON U.S. OWNERSHIP

Canadian business interests see nothing for themselves in legislation that would restrain or restrict U.S. capital investment here. And recent moves by their Liberal government are designed to delude anyone who thinks actions should be taken.

According to Howard Stikeman, in an address to the Montreal meeting of the Tax Executives Institute, the government's national revenue department's policy re withholding tax provisions on certain profits of non-Canadian residents is largely to keep people at home happy. The department, he said, has tried to hit upon a premium high enough to convince Canadians that foreigners do not get tax advantages and yet not too high to scare off foreigners.

Washington officials are indifferent to Finance Minister Walter Gordon's much touted rules limiting foreign ownership of insurance, trust and loan companies to 25% and expanding the investment power of insurance companies in common stock. One U.S. government economist has said that "in practice I don't think this will have much effect on U.S. interests". Another discounted the legislation. Insurance companies "aren't investing to the maximum now . . . the problem has been Americans buying control of Canadian companies. Insurance companies are unlikely to buy control of a firm as an investment," he said.

Soviet Team's Space Flight Scientific Breakthrough

By The Editors

The successful projection of a team of three men into space has been overshadowed by the sensation of Khrushchev's removal as chief spokesman of the Soviet bureaucracy. But only temporarily.

Not only is the simple fact of the orbiting of a vehicle of the requisite size and weight an amazing tribute to Soviet technology, but with the sending of three men, two of them trained scientists, whole new possibilities of probing and unravelling the secrets of outer space are opened up. As long as specialists were not transported beyond the earth's atmosphere all the space programs were of limited value to science. The knowledge that a team of specialists can bring back an accounting of another's reactions and a rounding-out of one anothers observations marks a qualitative breakthrough.

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WORKERS Vanguard

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Inspiring Achievements

(Continued From Page One)

Not only does this demonstrate that Soviet space science is several years ahead of that of the most powerful capitalist nation in the world. But the knowledge gained from this sensational flight marks a qualitative break through and a giant leap ahead.

What a mighty vindication of the October Revolution, that tocsin of the world revolution — sounded by the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky! What a tribute to the planned economy that issued out of it, that it could overcome the heavy toll of the dark years of Stalin, the incredible destruction of World War II, the waste and inefficiency of the heirs of Stalin, and yet reach and surpass the space achievement of the most powerful capitalist nation in the world.

And only a matter of hours later, China, with its successful testing of a nuclear device, strode into the nuclear future of man. In some ways the Chinese testing of a nuclear device is one of the most astounding achievements of our time. Only a short 15 years ago, China, mired in age-old backwardness, suffering under the yoke of feudal-capitalistic exploitation, took the path of October. Today, cut off and isolated by the major powers, harassed on her shores and borders, deprived of the available knowledge in this very field by her erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union, China has leaped over whole stages of development to grasp the power hidden in the atom.

With incredible cynicism, Lyndon B. Johnson, who upholds the bombing of Hiroshima, approves U.S. testing without end, and underwrites the stockpiling of countless devices with nuclear kill capacity, deplores the Chinese test as one of the saddest hours in history.

To be sure the Chinese test has added to the radioactive contamination already resulting from Soviet, British, French and U.S. testing. But its primary significance is that China has made the breakthrough to control and utilization of nuclear energy. It will no doubt now move as rapidly as possible towards solving the problems of its application to the production of goods and services.

Johnson's advisors know very well that China is far from the level of industrial development necessary to build the military equipment, even if it wanted to, for nuclear war. The Chinese breakthrough is indeed a sad day — for Mr. Johnson and the U.S. State Department. But its major significance will be thoroughly grasped by the freedom fighters in the Far East, Africa and Latin America. They will take on new inspiration in their struggle against imperialism and its neo-colonialist stooges.

Who knows? The Chinese test may even stiffen the backbone of the Canadian government to help usher Red China into its rightful place in the UN.

Straight Talk on War & Peace

Economics Minister Stanley J. Randall who is organizing and streamlining Ontario Business interests' efforts to grab as much of the world's trade as possible, spoke some blunt words to those attending the opening ceremonies of the Materials Handling Show at Exhibition Park on October 13.

He likened the struggle for markets to a war—a war waged with guns and missiles. "And if we lose this war," this struggle for markets, he said, "the effects can be almost as devastating and demoralizing to a modern society as a shooting war."

That is as frank an explanation of the workings of capitalism and as shrill a warning of the need to abolish it as one could expect. If it can't win the trade war, which on the home front is waged against labor with thinner pay envelopes, speed-up and anti-labor laws, and if it can't outmaneuver competition on the world market, capitalism is prepared to take mankind into shooting war. What's the difference? For capital to lose its profit position is to lose its reason to be — and the destruction of humankind is no matter in such a situation.

A Hot Potato – This Automation

Usually we couldn't care less about the disputes that take place inside the Progressive Conservative Party — they are so far removed from real life. But we can't help but feel a certain sympathy for George Hogan, secretary of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Association, for the situation he now finds himself in.

Hogan made an attempt to come to grips with the question of automation in an address to the University of Toronto New Democratic Party Club. And he is being raked over the coals for it.

Approaching the subject carefully, he took a firm position in favor of technological change. But from then on, he went wrong. He said that it must benefit the whole of society.

Since it is obvious that work could be scaled down drastically, he raised the question of how, with all the leisure, we would each be assured of the fruits of this revolution. And he came out with the proposition of spreading the ownership of capital. Equity ownership, not merely profit sharing rights, he emphasized, must be spread far more widely, and if possible, universally through our society.

Now, you don't have to be very astute to see that, despite the strange verbiage, this sounds mighty like that Marxist, that socialist solution of public ownership of the means of production. That was bad enough, but George, apparently sensing that some might have come across that word, continued to talk on.

And he got deeper into trouble for he even spelled it out for those who might not have heard the word. And even worse he made a prediction that might cause some to think there is something in it. He warned the students "unless we find within the capitalist system the means of meeting this problem, the revival of Marxian socialism as a serious force in our politics is a very real possibility."

Apparently George doesn't circulate very much outside of his place of business and the Albany Club. Apparently he doesn't know that everyone isn't committed to the capitalist system and that some are even prepared to go where their investigations lead them. And there George went and told them of that alternative — Marxian socialism.

We feel sorry for George because it gets very boring talking in Ontario about the flag, loyalty to the Queen, and preservation of confederation.

Workers' Vanguard #102 Mid-Oct. 1964

British Labour In Power, Road Open To Socialism

By Ross Dowson

The British Conservative Party's 13 year long tenure of office has ended with a sweeping reversal in the relationship of forces in the house of commons to the favor of the Labor Party. Labor representation took a sharp upswing, from almost 100 seats less than the Tories at the time of dissolution, to a majority of 14 seats over the Tories.

You wouldn't know THAT, from tuning in on the mass media on this continent. There has even been an attempt to present the position of the Labour Party as being parallel to that which the Liberals in Ottawa find themselves. Pearson heads a minority government. The opposition forces, in combination, hold a decisive majority over the government, and, should they find common cause to do so, could terminate its rule at any time. But the British Labour Party has won a decisive majority — small, but solid enough to implement any program that it might decide upon.

The belittling and scaling down of the real significance of the British Labour Party victory is a highly conscious effort on the part of North American Big Business interests and their Madison Avenue lackeys. They hope to quench the inspiration that it has for the forces in this country which are struggling to build the New Democratic Party and place it into power, and the by no means inconsequential forces in the United States which at this time are being diverted behind Johnson, under the pernicious theory of the "lesser

(See Page 4 — LABOUR)

LABOUR PARTY WINS

(Continued From Page 1)

evil," but periodically demonstrate their desire for a labor party.

The new prime minister, Harold Wilson, has decisively squelched any idea that the government he heads will be paralyzed by all the talk about its precarious position. We have a mandate, said Wilson right after taking office, and "we intend to fulfill that mandate." The government, he added, will not hesitate to do what it thinks fit.

It is not so much the marginal position that Wilson finds himself in in the commons that causes the British ruling class to hope that the Labour Party leadership will not move out with a socialist program that would deprive them of their positions of privilege and power. Rather it is an understanding of the fundamentally conservative character of the reformist leadership of the party.

That is what lies behind the statement of support of the Labour Party that the authoritative voice of the establishment, The Economist, issued on the eve of the election. Faced with long accumulating difficulties on the economic front, given the present unfavorable relationship of forces, they hope that the Labour Party brass will act as a disciplinary agent over the workers, as a caretaker of their interests, until such times as they can regroup their forces. This hope is not without substance.

But Wilson is by no means a free agent. Under him is the most potentially powerful working class movement in the capitalist world, which has a long tradition of discussion and differentiation within its ranks. Both the Labour Party and the highly class conscious union movement is committed to taking over the commanding heights of the economy under public ownership.

As uninspiring as this election campaign was—the number who went to the polls even dropped by two per cent—and as undifferentiated as Labour's program was from that of the Tories, the new government is pledged to the renationalization of the sector of steel that the previous labor government had nationalized but which was denationalized by the re-elected Tories. And it is pledged to nationalize road haulage, the water supply industries and, through a land commission, to the taking over of urban land for development.

It was not an accident that on the very eve of the election, 3,500 drivers and guards, in protest against new work schedules, closed down the subways that feed the heart of London. It was only under heavyhanded threats by right wing trade union bureaucrat Gunter, and the personal intervention of Mr. Wilson himself, who mixed threats with appeals that labor's election chances were being compromised, that the men returned to work. No sooner was labor's election assured than 65,000 dockworkers threatened to tie up the port of London. And they are not the only ones impatient over questions of wages and threatening redundancy. Important groups of electrical workers, aircraft and rail workers are pressing for action on the industrial front.

It is in recognition of these accumulating pressures, and in the hope that they can be bridled, that Wilson has not only brought into his cabinet such rightists as Brown and Gunter, but persons who have been spokesmen of the broad left in the past great debates in the party and the unions—including Jennie Lee and Frank Cousins.

The cry that they were rocking the boat and compromising labor's electoral chances, has, over the past few years, played a considerable part in the silencing of the broad left, which has long been the decisive majority in the constituency associations and has been increasing its influence in the unions. Now that labor is in office a new stage of the struggle to win the party to a socialist policy is opening up. This fight to build a new leadership in the mass party of the working class than can take Britain onto the road to socialism is being watched by socialists across the globe with the greatest anticipation.

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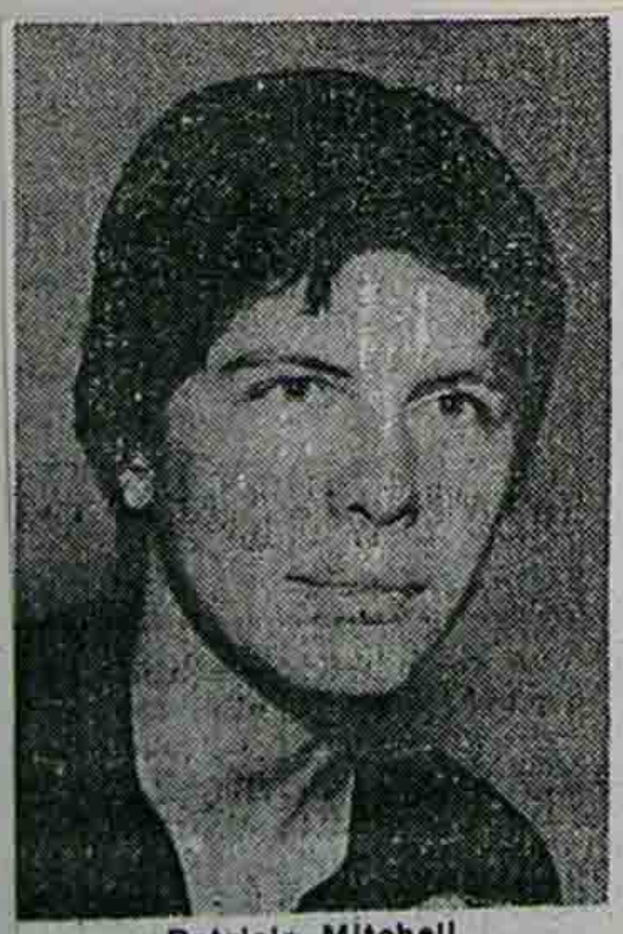
Toronto LSA To Run For Mayor, Controller

It now seems certain that the League for Socialist Action will run Ross Dowson for the office of mayor and Patricia Mitchell for one of the four controllers to be voted on in the coming Toronto municipal elections.

In a statement to the press Mrs. Mitchell said that "the British Labour Party victory, added to the NDP Toronto Riverdale by-election win, should inspire the Toronto district labor movement to present a complete slate to the electorate this December. We of the LSA are confident that a labor slate can sweep the Liberals and Tories out of city hall, and the situation is extremely favorable to make a real breakthrough this year. This is an urgent necessity and the League is prepared to make a big contribution should the leadership of the labor movement not measure up to this responsibility."

If it fails to contest these leading posts, as now appears clear, the League has asked the Toronto and District Labor Council to endorse both Dowson for mayor and Mitchell for controller. Mrs. Mitchell is the organizer of the Toronto LSA and Mr. Dowson, who has contested the mayoralty on previous occasions is the League's national secretary. The October 17 NDP Metro Council meeting came and went without presenting or endorsing any candidate higher than alderman. As the November 2 labor council meeting approaches the only rumours about are concerning endorsation of Mayor Givens or mayoralty aspirant Controller Lamport, as if there were any choice between these two well-known Liberals.



Patricia Mitchell

The LSA lauched its campaign with strong efforts to encourage the organized labor movement and its political arm, the NDP, to run a "Labor Mayor Heading up

(See Page 3 — TORONTO)

Toronto LSA in Contest For Mayor and Controller

(Continued From Page 1)

a Labor Administration in Toronto's City Hall." This was the streamer head on a leaflet distributed to the Labor Day Parade.

"Does anyone think that the Typos would still be on the picket lines in front of Toronto's Big Three dailies," the leaflet asked, "if city hall, instead of pretending that the strike wasn't there, vigorously identified itself with the workers who are locked in the first strike over automation in the country. This strike is certainly an issue of the greatest concern since it involves the vital question whether the working people of Toronto and the rest of the country are going to get the benefits of technological progress or face widespread unemployment."

The leaflet pointed out that over "25% of the electorate in the Metro Toronto area in the last two elections last year voted NDP . . . a very substantial basis from which to move out," and stated that it is obvious that the "ranks of organized labor contain the personnel which can more than satisfactorily meet the demands of these offices."

It noted that at that time there were only two announced candidates for the mayoralty office—both well known leaders in the Liberal machine — and urged unionists to see that their delegates pressed for a labor slate in the coming elections.

Following the sweeping victory that the NDP won in the Riverdale by-election which put the eastern half of the city in the NDP column both federally and provincially, the LSA circulated another leaflet to the council delegates. It included a photostatic reproduction of an article from the September 16 Saskatchewan Prairie New Democrat Commonwealth, written by Manitoba labor and NDP leader Donovan Swailes.

Swailes announced that the Winnipeg NDP was fighting the municipal elections in Winnipeg on party lines. He exposed the Liberal and Tory fiction of no-party politics, and a device that they have constructed called Civic Election Committee to present solid opposition to the NDP.

Swailes took a swipe at "socialist parties in most of the cities in North America" for swallowing "this chamber of commerce fiction of 'No Politics in Civic Affairs'." He pointed out that "in all the cities in Britain, political parties are as much in evidence in the municipal elections, as they are in the elections to the House of Commons." Among the extensive slate of candidates reproduced, appeared the names of both the president and the secretary of the Winnipeg and District Labor Council.

The LSA leaflet again appealed to the council, with its considerable resources and prestige, to enter into the Toronto elections

Ross Dowson

and failing that to "remain true to the principles of independent labor political action by endorsing Dowson for mayor and Mitchell for controller."

The labor council has again delayed handling the endorsation of candidates — this time to its November 5th meeting. But the October 15 meeting witnessed UAW Local 112's Political Action Committee chairman Nat French declare that his local would give no support of any kind to Liberals or Tories. Last election the council endorsed one of two Tories who contested the mayoralty. Speaking on behalf of what is now possibly the largest local in the Metro Toronto area, French further said that 112 would donate funds only to those candidates who ran openly under the label of the NDP.

The October 17 Toronto and District NDP council meeting endorsed a very limited list of candidates for aldermanic and Board of Education posts. A proposal presented by Local 112's delegate Hugh Dowson, that the council add to its conditions for endorsation one that it be granted only to candidates contesting on the label, was ruled out of order by chairman and Alderman Horace Brown.

The LSA has launched a campaign to accumulate funds to make this election drive its biggest effort ever. It will be entering into this campaign, not in the spirit that it is merely a stop-gap affair, but confident that solid gains can be made for the socialist future of Canada and that a labor administration CAN take office in one of Canada's labor strongholds — the city of Toronto.

Workers'
VANGUARD — Mid-October, 1964 #102

Khrushchev's "Retirement"

The removal of Nikita Khrushchev as spokesman of the Soviet regime and chief arbiter of the conflicting alignments within the ruling bureaucracy is certain to have widespread repercussions.

It signifies no substantial change in the implementation of the CPSU's strategic line of "peaceful coexistence" as conducted by Khrushchev, and Stalin before him. But its implementation has led to complications — the most noteable, the dead-end relations with the Communist Party of China, which have increased the centrifugal tendencies in the world Communist Parties. With the removal of Khrushchev the bureaucracy seeks new possibilities of maneuver.

The "explanation" to the Soviet peoples suggests a further attempt by the regime to adjust to their pressures for the institutionalization of forms of socialist democracy.

But the circumstances surrounding Khrushchev's removal only increase the centrifugal pressures in the world's CP's, reveal that the bureaucracy is unable to establish any firm basis of rule, and direct the Soviet masses towards struggle for its complete elimination.

By P. Kent

NDP Adds Waterloo South to Riverdale Election Win

By Ross Dowson

The New Democratic Party scored a sweeping victory in the Waterloo South federal by-election. The vote under the name of Max Saltsman hit the 12,695 mark, well above last year's poll of 7,182—with the Tories dropping almost 1,500 and the Liberals more than 2,500. The NDP candidate of the two previous elections, this time carrying the Liberal banner, even lost his $200 deposit.

No supporter of independent labor political action could fail to be jubiliant that the NDP, so close on the heels of the Riverdale (Toronto) by-election victory, has scored again. But there are some disquieting features about this campaign that must be noted.

There is obviously discontent and dissatisfaction in all layers of the population, directed both against the Liberals in government and the Tories, the largest opposition bloc. This disillusionment covers a wide spectrum of questions and is moving at differents tempos and in divergent directions. The NDP should of course take fullest possible advantage of this protest sentiment —to win the 1964 Waterloo South by-election and to lay the basis for future NDP election victories. That means to build a movement by advancing and winning the people to an alternative program to the Liberal and Tory program. But no program of any kind whatsoever was advanced in Waterloo South.

Many NDPers have long been uneasy about the leadership's tendency to cover over the party's differences from the Big Business parties—to not present even a formal interpretation of the official program of the party. The Waterloo South by-election campaign was conducted with a studious elimination of any pro-

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grammatic differentiation—not to speak of commitment.

One of the major pieces of campaign literature outlined the candidate's pledge. There is no programmatic commitment whatsoever, merely assurances that Saltsman will "mail regular reports from Ottawa," "hold public meetings . . . after every session, and will be seeking opinions from the thousands of people he hopes to represent."

The same elaborate leaflet spells out Saltsman's "concrete program of action for Ottawa." The "sole purpose" of the NDP, it states, "has been to get on with the nation's business," and it continues: "Indeed, people of all political persuasion agree that the NDP has become the voice of sanity in a faltering House of Commons." To the question why Saltsman should be elected, the official leaflet answers — "Both the Government and Official Opposition need a sharp reminder that they are there to serve the people, not to further their own political advantage," —that is all.

It isn't a Tory or Liberal smear that the Saltsman election was not a victory for the NDP but merely a repudiation of the two old line parties. That is the view that is quite openly stated by the leadership of the NDP itself. Following the victory NDP leader T. C. Douglas told the press that: "The whole campaign was based on the theme of Let Gait Speak for Canada—giving the people the opportunity to tell Parliament that the time has come to stop frittering away time, to stop endless squabbling and get down to business."

The danger is that the party leadership with this victory added onto the Riverdale victory, sees this to be the strategy of success.

There is no denying that the NDP got elected in Riverdale, and now in Waterloo South. But that is not to say that a programmatic demarcation would have lost. There was also the fact that both were by-elections and that the NDP because of this was able to bring such a concentration of forces to bear as to outcanvass both the Liberals and Tories, boasting that each household was canvassed four and some even six times. In a general election the relationship of forces would be just the reverse.

The leadership thinks that it has found the perfect formula. Victory lies on the path of doing or saying nothing that risks the accumulation of protest votes (as if in the future, contrary to previous norms, the protest vote is fated to cut against both capitalist parties ,and not for one against the other), completely burying your program so the electorate are not confronted with the question of whether they are for or against you as such, and somehow mobilizing crowds of distributors who also serve to create the atmosphere of victory.

It worked. And with graphs, charts and handbooks, the Stephen Lewis' will attempt to snow under everyone who dares raise the idea of counterposing program, even the milk and water official program of the party.

The only trouble is that it worked before—in Peterborough —with another "ideal" candidate. Now nobody even knows his name. There is no constituency organization there now, and not enough cardholders to form a corporal's guard.

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North Vancouver

The above photo of Reg Bullock appeared on his election campaign leaflet headed—For a LABOR MAYOR elect Reg Bullock — Mayor — North Vancouver VOTE SOCIALIST.

A preamble calls upon the electortate to reject those candidates, usually business men, landlords and real estate agents, who do not disclose their political affiliation and foster the myth that municipal politics are non-partisan. It appeals to working people to vote for a candidate who is one of themselves, and put labor into City Hall.

The leaflet outlines a program. For the elimination of property restrictions on the vote—and the vote for all over 18 years of age. For the extension of public transportation in the direction of free urban mass transportation: For the opening to public examination of all the tax records, the province to take over education costs, and the mobilization of pressure on the federal government for low rental housing, increased health, welfare and pension benefits through curtailment of arms expenditures. For the union label on all civic contracts, etc.

A short biographical sketch states that Bullock is an active unionist and a delegate from the Boilermakers on the Vancouver Labor Council. He is also a long time socialist—for a period in the Thirties, provincial organizer of the BC CCF.

Tor. Labor in Turmoil Over Electoral Policy

The meeting of the country's largest labor council, the Toronto and District Labor Council, broke up in shambles on November 5th with the recommendation of the Political Education Committee on the Toronto mayoralty contest, still on the floor. Failing to precent a candidate from their own ranks who could lead a labor slate into city hall, and burying the request by the League for Socialist Action that Ross Dowson be endorsed as the only candidate that could be said to represent labor under such circumstances, the council executive proposed endorsation of the incumbent Mayor Givens.

What the PEC passes off as "practical," as "realistic," politics requires the council to make a choice between two Liberals: Mayor Givens and Controller Lamport. And since the choice is totally devoid of principle it boils down to the matter of attempting to determine which of these two is the lesser evil.

The executive's failure to apply the critereon of independent labor political action to the municipal plane is the cause of this shameful disruption of the council. Its support of the NDP on the federal and provincial plane has helped to put the entire eastern half of the city in the NDP column, and rally 25% of the Metro area electorate behind the NDP. But this year again, when it comes to the municipal area, which is a bulwark of Big Business interests and a training ground for its Liberal and Tory lackeys, the executive has turned the debate onto the plane of which is the lesser evil between two Liberals.

only choice

Mayoralty candidate DOWSON

And just who is the lesser evil between Lamport and Givens? It was the complexity, the impossibility of making such a decision, with the executive rejecting Lamport for very good reasons, a sizeable block of delegates rejecting Givens for very good reasons, and each supporting the other candidate, that blew up the November 5 meeting. If the debate remains on that plane the November 19 meeting is almost certain to blow up too.

THE WAY OUT

There is a slim hope that the executive, with the help of the rank and file, may still be able to learn something from this unfortunate experience and will deprive the delegates of the need to even attempt to make such an invidious choice by putting an NDP candidate into the arena. It is not too late. Nomination Day is November 23. Failing that they could allow the case for the endorsation of Dowson to be discussed on its merits. But more probable will be an evasion of all responsibility—an attempt to get off the hook by leaving the mayoralty open.

In order to make the PEC's case, reporter L. H. Rosen had to attack the record of Controller Lamport. Following protests, the chair ruled Rosen's comments out of order but couldn't stop the injection of unsavory facts in the record of Givens from being shouted out.

Of course partisans of Lamport, and the same goes for Givens' partisans, can point to some statement, even a motion before council made by their favorite that might in itself show merit. But it is obvious that these are so many meaningless words as long as the carefully fostered myth of non-party politics in the municipal field prevails. They are only statements of a single individual who has only one vote on the council, made with no responsibility or commitment whatsoever, and without the slightest chance of realization, unless the rest of the freewheeling assortment of predominantly Liberals and Tories support them.

Through Givens' re-election, and his manipulation of the considerable power that rests in the mayor's office, the Liberals hope to rebuild their provincial and federal machines — against the NDP. Every critical comment that the labor council's PEC has uttered over the past decade against the administration in city hall, on housing, taxation, violation of zoning by-laws, ad infinitum, hangs rivetted to the neck of alderman-controller-Mayor Givens. He has all along, if somewhat quietly, nonetheless faithfully, served the real estate, trust and mortgage interests, that dominate civic affairs.

GIVENS' "GOON SQUAD"

Delegates who indignantly interrupted Rosen's attempts to present Mayor Givens as a friend of labor, stood on good grounds. Givens as chief magistrate sits on the police commission. He is party to the creation of a unique police squad mobilized in support of the Press Lords of Toronto against the striking typographical and mailers unions — 600 men on call, 200 on special duty and 25 on "secret work." Included in this force is a goon squad of plainclothesmen who

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Dowson Only Choice for Tor. Labor

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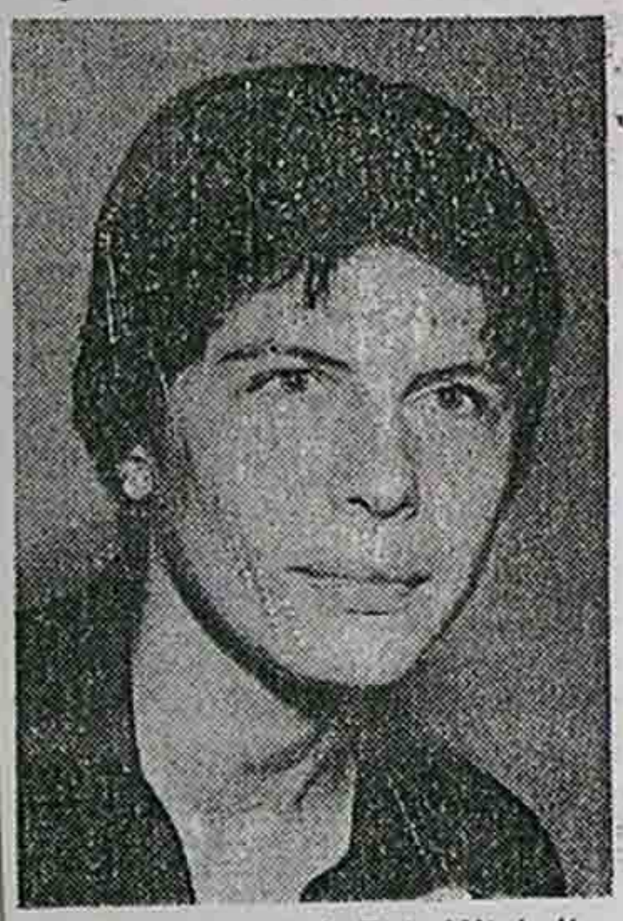
specialize in provocation of picketers—all in all costing taxpayers an estimated $40,000 a week. The commission recently arrogated to itself authority to police all placards and ban all demonstrations except long established ones in the downtown area, without even a murmur of dissent from Mayor Givens.

But does Givens' rotten record constitute a reason for adding labor's endorsation of Controller Lamport to that already given him by the Parkdale Young Progressive Conservative Association? Do a few miserable words of sympathy for the typos, that lead absolutely nowhere and are largely motivated by his pique at the newspaper interests who do not consider him sufficiently "responsible" to hold the highest post in civic office, make Lamport a friend of labor? No member of city council has so openly made himself the servant of the most adventuristic and grasping real estate manipulators as Lamport. When the labor council PEC measured him by his fronting for Maple Leaf Gardens' attempts to move in on civic properties, his opposition to the development of the Center for Arts, and his attack on the proposal to amass the land on the south side of Queen, which as a supporter of "free enterprise" he attacked as a socialist plot, he had the arrogance to tell labor to stick to its knitting—to what he would narrowly define as "labor affairs."

There is no lesser evil, there is no choice between Lamport and Givens. Better that the labor council urge workers to vote for what they want, and not get it, than urge them to vote for something that they don't want and get it.

for Controller



LSA sponsored Pat Mitchell

Toronto Readers

Meet the League for Socialist Action Sponsored Candidates for

MAYOR — **Ross Dowson**

BOARD OF CONTROL — **Patricia Mitchell**

at a Social Evening

● **SATURDAY, December 5 at 8:30 p.m.** ●

THE CO-OP HALL,
846A Pape Avenue, North of Danforth

Workers' Vanguard

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Toronto Election Sees LSA Score Progress

While the working class stayed away from the Toronto municipal election polls on December 7 in droves (only 35.4% of those elegible cast ballots) and the old Liberal-Tory combination went back into office, 3,026 cast their mayoralty vote for Ross Dowson and 6,750 cast one of their four controller votes for Patricia Mitchell. Dowson's vote was almost three times that polled behind his name two years ago when he was sponsored, as both he and Mitchell were this year, by the League for Socialist Action.

The Scarborough Ward I campaign, launched under the aegis of NDP MPP Stephen Lewis, supposedly as a test of the effectiveness of the utilization of the NDP label in municipal affairs, saw the NDP candidate for council go down to defeat with 2,846 to 3,939 votes cast for an ex-NDPer now Tory incumbent, and one of the two NDP Board of Education candidates lose out to the only opponent by 2,917 to 3,020 votes.

The LSA commenced its highly effective campaign late last summer with a drive to get the NDP and/or the Toronto and District Labor Council to present a slate in the December 7 election or at least carry a contest for top civic posts. When on November 19 the labor brass proved able to carry their line of endorsation as a "lesser evil" one of the two Liberal contestants for the mayoralty, the LSA, despite its modest means and the overwhelming odds, stepped into the gap.

It was the LSA that upheld the banner of independent labor political action in this key Canadian metropolis. It demonstrated in its campaign leaflets, 60,000 copies of which were distributed, and in the speeches of Dowson and Mitchell to dozens of election meetings, the type of meaningful program that can be developed on the municipal plane to defend and extend the interests of the working people against the lackeys of Big Business. And it projected the need to move in the direction of a new society — a socialist society — spot-lighted by

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TORONTO LSA CAMPAIGN FOR LABOUR & SOCIALISM

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the strike being waged by the printers against the Big Three dailies to assure that automation will serve the majority with better living standards and increased leisure, not unemployment for the many and increased profits for a few.

The Givens-Lamport personality contest waged by the scab dailies, buttressed by TV and radio, never really took hold. In this melieu, blacked out by the mass media and with the limited resources at its own disposal, the LSA was unable to overcome the apathy of the electorate who saw no practical prospect in casting their ballots in protest behind Dowson but they protested nonetheless—by deserting the polls.

While the overall average of 35.4% was the lowest poll in years, it was significantly lower in such generally working class areas as Ward I, where 28.3% cast ballots, rising to 44.6 in the most homogeneous high-wage earner and petit bourgeois area, Ward 9.

Dowson expressed the conviction over CBC TV as the returns were coming in that this election will be the last that the organized labor movement, which backs the NDP on the federal and provincial plane, will fail to present candidates for top municipal office.

The LSA hit the NDP and trade union misleadership hard. It was with acute embarrassment that they ended the debate at the November 19th council meeting, which commenced with the expulsion of two delegates, with Steel leader Bert Gargrave admitting they were reaching down deep into the bottom of the barrel to choose between two badly bruised apples—Givens or Lamport. Only a few hours before the delegates had had to run the gauntlet of a picket distributing a a leaflet outlining the anti-labor record of both Givens and Lamport and carrying signs, shouting slogans, urging non-endorsation of either candidate and endorsation of Dowson and Mitchell.

In an attempt to overcome the mass media blackout, spots were purchased on one radio station that emphasized programmatic slogans — on another prominent station Pat' Mitchell made a short address on the typo strike. Silk screened signs calling for a labor —a socialist—vote, were put up across the city and a sound truck toured shopping areas and busy intersections on the final electioneering day.

Perhaps the highlights of the many meetings addressed by the LSA-sponsored candidates were the rally of over 800 members of the Laborers' Union where Dowson was the only contestant other than sitting members of council to speak, and a meeting called by the Civic Employees Union. Several unionists came over to shake hands with Dowson who, following an address by Lamport, exposed such phoney "friends" of labor. Conforming to reactionary liquor license regulations the chairman barred participation of all women candidates in the meeting.

CBC TV devoted one of its several Toronto File programs on the elections to the four board of control and two mayoralty candidates, who if mentioned at all, had been usually dismissed as the non-serious contestants for office.

Dowson opened up his contribution to the panel with a statement on the need for a totally new administration—a labor administration in city hall which would administer the city in the interests of the workers and not the Big Business interests. He exposed the myth of non-party municipal politics as a device to clear the Liberals and Tories of programmatic commitments, turning the contest of 117 candidates for the 37 offices into a hopelessly confusing personality contest.

Phyllis Clarke, Communist Party candidate for controller, told the TV audience that she was opposed to party labels in the municipal arena. The CP press had earlier stated that Dowson's candidature can't "be seriously considered for support." Clarke dropped over one-third of her 1962 vote to poll 10,284.

LSA controller candidate Mitchell effectively presented a practical municipal program which called for: free access to the municipally-owned transit facilities to overcome downtown traffic congestion and limit outlays on expensive thruways, underpasses, and parking lots; an end to the scandalous situation where 1,022 emergency cases are on the hospital-bed waiting list, by transferring present allocations from reactionary hospital boards to the construction of municipally-owned hospitals under municipally-controlled boards; the liquidation of a special police squad designed to harass striking printers and costing the taxpayers $40,000 a week, and increased civil control over the police commission headed by the mayor; the elimination of tax exemptions covering properties to the value of 400 million dollars, particularly such monopolistic corporations as Bell Telephone; and an extensive program of low cost subsidized housing which authorities admitted in 1958 should be 1,000 units a year but has resulted in only 350 units in the six intervening years.

The LSA campaign emphasized the need to gear Toronto politics to the automation revolution which has already resulted in the closing down of two important Toronto plants and has been estimated to be eliminating 4,000 jobs a week across the country. The LSA's major campaign leaflet declared that this revolution "is posing the necessity for an entirely new society — a socialist society of production for use, and consumption, not on the basis of ownership, but need." The first step in this direction it stated: "is to instal a labor administration in Toronto's city hall."

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Scarboro 'Experiment' Not Valid NDP Must Enter Municipal Field

By Ross Dowson

The failure of the Scarboro electorate to back the NDP-labelled candidates on December 7 is being presented as evidence to justify continuation by the NDP and trade union leadership of its policy of going along with the myth of non-party politics on the municipal election plane.

The NDP in the Toronto suburb of Scarboro, which is already in the NDP column both federally and provincially, entered three candidates. Ward 1 was chosen. One candidate was entered to contest incumbent and ex-NDPer Mallette, for council. Two candidates were entered in a three-way contest for two seats on the Board of Education.

In charge of the campaign was youthful NDP MPP Stephen Lewis who, following the by-election successes in Riverdale and South Waterloo, has been dubbed the "boy-wonder" and "whiz-kid" of the NDP. The policies with which he has been identified are considered by some to have played a major role in these successes, and therefore the Scarboro effort was all the more a test of the view that NDP candidates should appear under the party label on the municipal arena.

Even within the narrow framework that the leadership is trying to keep the discussion, there are several points which completely demolish their position.

The Scarboro campaign was strictly tokenist. It was limited to one municipality of the Metro Toronto area. Further, it was limited to one small ward in this municipality, and thereby to what are generally considered unimportant offices. No choice was offered the electorate of that ward in the campaign for the highest offices — reeve and deputy-reeve. The only other office normally open to a vote in this small Scarboro area — the Public Utility Commission — was removed through an acclaimation.

The glamour which the mass media casts over the Toronto elections — the 5 and 6 column photos and the headlines which it devotes to its Liberal or Tory favorites—causes suburban campaigns such as in Scarboro to shrivel into insignificance so that they are hardly taken seriously even by those who vote there. And in this Toronto campaign which set the context of the Scarboro experiment, the NDP and trade union leadership not only went along with the Liberal-Tory fostered myth of non partisan municipal politics but actively campaigned against those who urged that the NDP contest the elections under its own banner.

Any "experiment" that is limited to a suburban area, to a single ward in such an area, that doesn't present a slate or at the minimum a contest for the higher offices in the area can scarcely be considered seriously. And after noting that, what about the campaign itself?

Stephen Lewis has stated that "our candidates were unknown two weeks" before election day—a matter of some importance in conducting an "experiment."

The Scarboro campaign, while having little of the intensity, nonetheless had many of the earmarks of the Riverdale and South Waterloo election campaigns. Those by-elections were won by a razzle-dazzle mobilization of protest votes. Any programmatic statements that might stand in the way of such a mobilization were studiously eliminated. Machines were knocked together and these seats went NDP—but they stand on sand and if programmatic piles are not sunk between now and next election they will probably collapse.

While the Scarboro leaflets talked about program—what there was was always "long term" and vague. It was a campaign designed to ride in on a protest vote when in the area of operation there was no visible protest and none was mobilized.

So much for the arguments on the plane that the NDP and trade union leadership wish to keep the whole discussion. But the entire framework to which they would limit it is false. The framework of the discussion is completely opportunist — whether it pays NOW, in coralling votes on the municipal arena, and above all in winning seats, to run on the label.

On this plane the opposition to running on the party label appears to have much more powerful arguments in its arsenal than the failure to carry the Scarboro Ward I campaign to success. In Toronto, William Dennison headed the poll for Board of Control. Close on his heels was Herbert Orliffe, and in adjoining East York, True Davidson was swept back in as reeve. They went along with the Liberal-Tory fostered myth of non-partisan municipal politics and were elected.

There is of course a slight difficulty here. Few now even know

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that True Davidson ever had anything at all to do with the CCF-NDP, and from the party's future it would be just as well, as she continually violates the most elementary liberal, not to speak of labor or socialist concept. While not in the Liberal or Tory machines — yet — William Dennison, a former CCF MPP who campaigns as part of the administration can scarcely be considered to be in the NDP either. His repeated election and that of Mary Temple, has in no way helped build the NDP. As for Orliffe—the one-time provincial secretary of the Ontario CCF—he is now at least a kissing cousin, if not right in the Tory family compact.

There are some important lessons here too. The myth of non-party municipal politics has not only served to deceive the electorate but to seduce former spokesmen of the left. Commitment to labor—if only to its label and not its program, would appear to be essential to preserve its representatives from being swept into the maw of Liberal-Tory politics.

The reformist leadership of the NDP and union movement have so far proven unable to learn some of the most elementary lessons of parliamentarism — assimilated by its reformist brothers in Europe decades and decades ago.

For us—with the NDP already existing as a mass labor party, presenting itself as an alternative government in Ottawa and the provincial governments across the country—its running on its label in the municipal arena is a matter of principle. For the NDP leaders of the Toronto and District Labor Council to endorse as mayor as they did two years ago a leader of the Tory machine, and this year a leader of the Liberal machine, is to stab the NDP in the back. No one who condones an action that tremendously strengthens the NDP's opponents in Toronto can be taken seriously when he advocates their being tossed out in Queen's Park or Ottawa. There can be no postponement of the struggle until some supposedly more favorable time in the future when it is only a matter of months that we will have to take on the Toronto area Liberal and Tory machines to win NDP seats in the federal or provincial house.

Pierre Maheu, youthful editor of the widely read Quebec separatist, socialist monthly, Parti Pris. Last month Maheu carried a whirlwind campaign in the Toronto area to acquaint English-speaking Canadians with an increasingly influential Quebec viewpoint.

Those who campaigned in the Scarborough "experiment", and the Young New Democrats who pitched into the Board of Education campaign behind Lyle Severin in Toronto's Ward 6, should not be discouraged by the small vote polled. The Liberal-Tory machines are organized as effectively on a ward basis behind ward candidates, if not more so, than they are organized behind the major candidates elected on a city-wide vote. The multiplicity of candidates, far from favoring the Severin candidature, strengthened Liberal-Tory efforts behind their select candidates. The real potentialities of the situation in Toronto, as they already exist, on the present level of political experience and maturity of the electorate, are far greater than were registered behind these campaigns and that waged by the LSA behind Dowson and Mitchell.

To mobilize the working class requires the presentation of a serious possibility of putting in an alternative government to the Liberal-Tory governments. Even the advocacy of a most perfect program by a few candidates is no substitute for presenting the possibility of a basic change. That possibility will only be posed when the NDP presents an alternative slate to the Liberal-Tory slates—at the very minimum contests for the highest posts of civic office.